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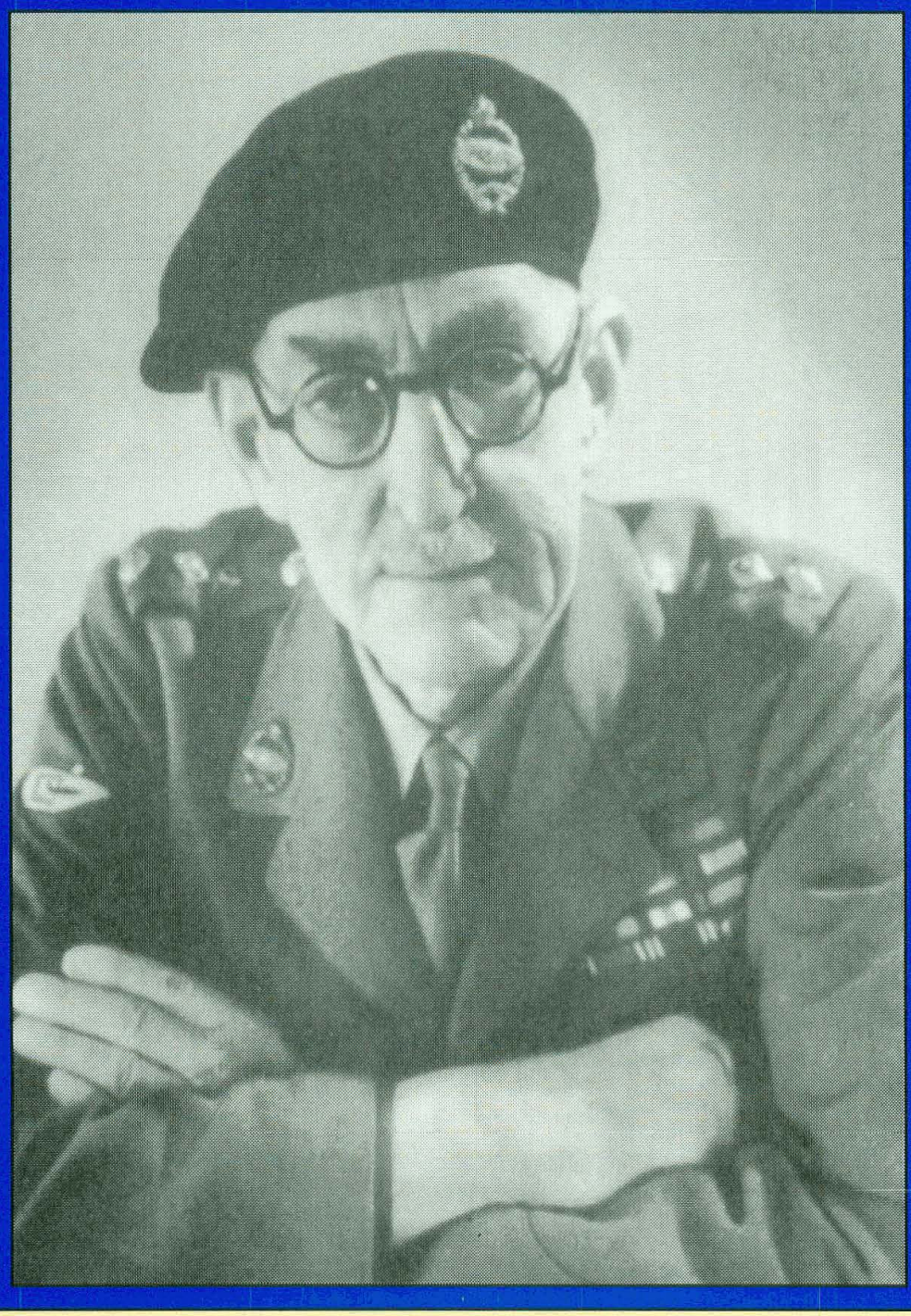

Percy Hobart's Little-Known Story
Trevor J. Constable

Hilberg on Jewish 'Blackmail' Against Switzerland

Telepathic Genocide: Hilberg Explains
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The Little-Known Story of Percy Hobart

They Called Him 'Hobo'

TREVOR J. CONSTABLE

Winston Churchill threw down the *Sunday Pictorial* on the morning of August 11, 1940, with an angry scowl on his face. "We Have Wasted Brains!" blazed the headline to a slashingly critical article by Britain's top military analyst, Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. Dominating the page was a photograph of a hawk-faced officer in the black beret of the Royal Tank Corps, former Major-General Percy Hobart. He was Liddell Hart's classic example of Britain's "wasted brains."

Practical pioneer and developer of the now-dreaded *Blitzkrieg* technique and former commander of the world's first permanent tank brigade, Hobart's revolutionary innovations in armored warfare had won him international military fame — and special attention in Germany. Dire peril now threatened Britain, but General Hobart was not commanding British tanks. He wasn't even in the Army. He had been found serving as a corporal in the Home Guard [overage men and other civilians otherwise unfit for regular military service, meagerly armed, whose "uniform" was an arm band] — the highest responsibility Britain's military mandarins were willing to give to the progenitor of the *Blitzkrieg*.

Aroused by Liddell Hart's exposure of the situation, Churchill was determined to change Hobart's assignment. In the process, the prime minister was to launch and bring to its climax a drama of personal resurrection unsurpassed in military history. As Churchill pressed buzzers and rumbled memoranda to his secretaries, the country. stood on the brink of ruin. The struggle with the Luftwaffe raged overhead. German armies were massing on the French coast for the projected invasion. The British Army had been routed in France with the modern tank methods first demonstrated to the world by Hobart, now a Home Guard corporal. The Germans had learned and applied only too forcefully the techniques pioneered by Hobart's tank brigade years before.

Trevor J. Constable, born in New Zealand in 1925, has an international reputation as an aviation historian and author. With Colonel Raymond F. Toliver, he has authored a number of successful works on fighter aviation and ace fighter pilots. He has lived in the United States since 1952. He now makes him home in southern California.

Trevor J. Constable

The prime minister directed that Hobart should be taken back into the Army. The chief of the Imperial General Staff should give him at least one of the new armored divisions to command. Delay was to be avoided. A personal meeting was to be arranged promptly between Corporal Hobart and the prime minister.

In a modest home near Oxford, lean, bushy-browed Percy Hobart was preparing to leave for his Home Guard duties. The one-time general who had commanded hundreds of armored vehicles in maneuvers and raised and trained the 7th Armoured Division in North Africa took a wry look outside his front door at what was now his "transport." A baby Austin driven by a member of the Women's Volunteer Services stood waiting. The telephone jangled, Corporal Hobart answered, and found himself talking to one of Churchill's secretaries. The tank expert was asked to have lunch with the prime minister at Chequers, the official country residence of the British leader. Bigger things were in store for the aggressive 55-year-old ex-general, whose stormy and controversial past held the key to his future.

From the early 1920s, when he had transferred to the Royal Tank Corps as a military engineer, Hobart had turned his thinking to the future. He was among the few pioneers in every major nation to whom the tank appeared as the decisive land weapon of any future war. These tank enthusiasts,

British, German, American and French, took their tactical inspiration from two outstanding British theorists, J. F. C. Fuller and Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. Liddell Hart in particular was influential. He was even then winning recognition as Britain's leading military brain — in or out of uniform — and he wrote forcefully and persuasively in favor of the new doctrine of strategic mobility. This concept is basic to today's military teachings, but it was heresy in the 1920s. Liddell Hart held that tanks would restore to 20th-century warfare the ancient Mongolian idea of extreme mobility — the Mongols' main instrument of conquest. Bloody slugging matches in the 1914-18 fashion were doomed. Generalship would again flourish and replace the dull butchery of mass frontal attacks by infantry.

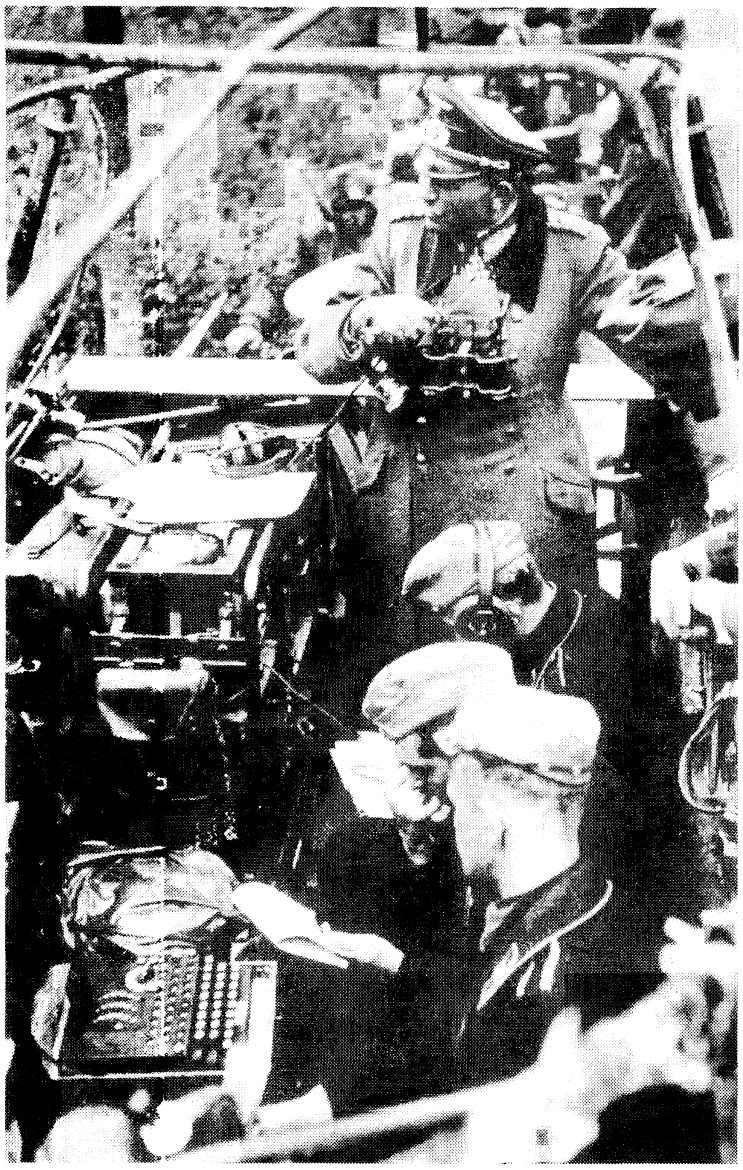
Percy Hobart, right, in conversation with General William H. "Big Bill" Simpson, US Ninth Army Commander. Units of Hobart's specialized 79th Experimental Armoured Division served with distinction with Simpson's Ninth Army. The two men became personal friends. Simpson called Hobart "the most outstanding high British officer I met during the war."

Orthodox military minds of that time could not grasp such concepts, which demanded creative imagination no less than military understanding. Men with imagination, vision and ability to carry these qualities over into practical soldiering were rare in the static-minded, socially-centered British Army. Percy Hobart was one such man. His diversified background and interests ensured that imaginative, mobile thinking would be second nature to him. A student of history and its lessons, he had delved also into such creative non-military fields as painting, literature and church architecture. Vibrant facets of mind to which regular military life gave no scope sparkled brilliantly in Percy Hobart.

Liddell Hart's "Mongolian" concept of strategic mobility became the focus of Hobart's considerable intellectual resources. Development of these concepts and their adjustment to the mechanical twentieth century dominated Hobart's life from the time they were put forward. His creative imagination had been fired by the military revolution he could visualize, but his creativity was combined with a rock-hard realism. "Wars cannot be fought with dream stuff," he used to say, as he poured his life's energies into the development of practical machines for armored warfare, and the effective methods of directing these new mobile weapons. His goal was to break military science out of the straitjacket of trench warfare by updating the Mongol methods.

Where the Mongols lived off the country through which they ranged, Hobart planned to carry sustaining rations in the tanks. Refueling would be from lightly-protected dumps in the enemy rear, where the far-ranging armored columns would penetrate and strike. He worked with relentless zeal to cut "the tail" of non-fighting service vehicles which hobbled and almost immobilized conventional army units. Tank forces of the future were to be self-contained for the maximum possible range.

Down-to-earth problems such as these did not prevent Hobart from taking a prescient look up at the sky. He planned for the time when the increasing power and versatility of aircraft would permit mobile armored columns to be completely supplied by airdrop. Standard practice today, this concept was in those times often the subject of mockery. Hobart planned to send his hard-hitting columns ripping into enemy supply lines and nerve centers in the rear, paralyzing command and demoralizing troops in the front lines. Less than twenty years later, America's General George S. Patton was to carry out these tactics on a vast scale and with historic success.



General Heinz Guderian in his armored command vehicle during operations in France, June 1940. His panzer units played a major role in routing British and French forces in May and June 1940.

Resistance to these radical ideas began to stiffen. The old order found its neurotic and professional security threatened by the progress of strategic mobility. "Hobo," as he was affectionately called by his intimates, viewed the old order and its resistance to the new ways with direct and unconcealed contempt. "Why piddle about making porridge with artillery," he said, "and then send men to drown themselves in it for a hundred yards of No Man's Land? Tanks mean advances of miles at a time, not yards!'

Views like these were shared only by a small military minority. The powerful ruling faction of military conservatives was convinced of the value of the tank only in scattered use to support infantry formations. Horsed cavalry had been literally swept from the battlefield by the machine gun, but cavalrymen and cavalry philosophy nevertheless still ruled the high commands of the British Army. Men like these regarded Hobart's ideas as anathema. Professionally, they were maintaining the kind of army that could fight the First World War over again. Content with familiar ideas and concepts, and fearful deep inside that Hobart and others might be right, these controlling conservative elements closed the high commands of the British Army to tank advocates.

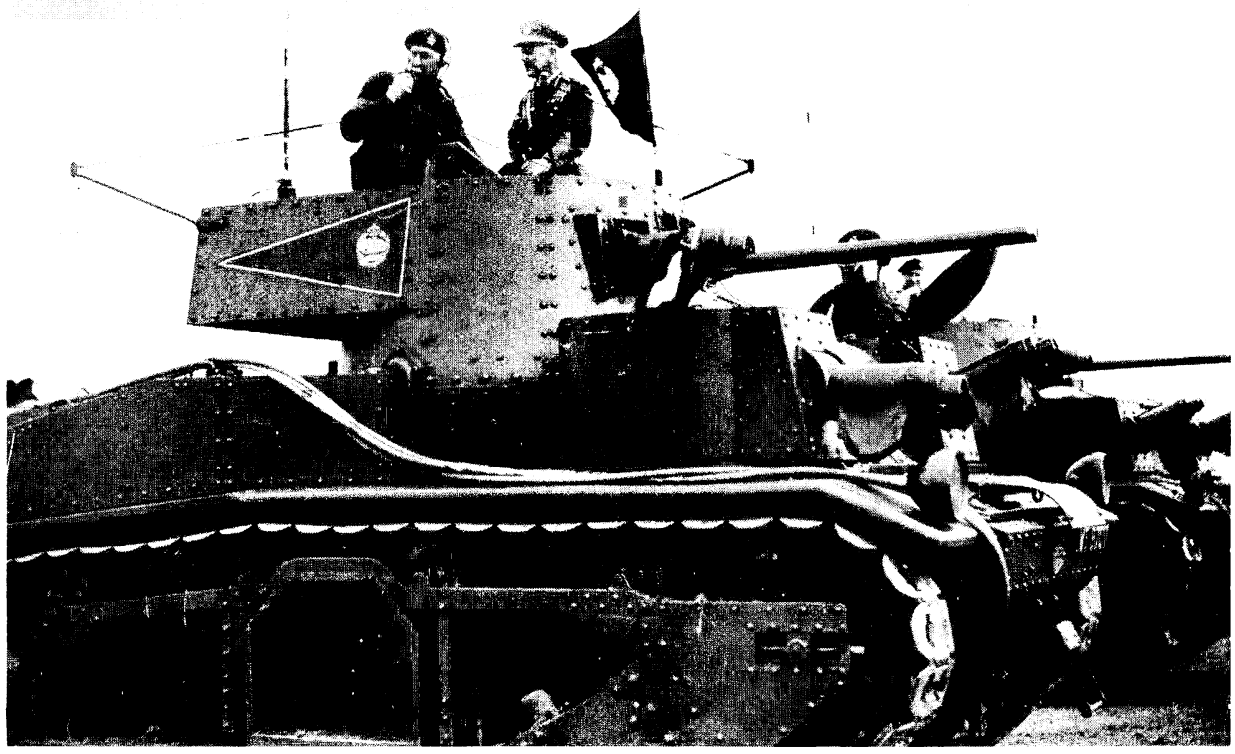
During this same period in the USA, despite the nation's massive mechanical heritage, a similar situation prevailed. Development of an independent armored force was stifled on that side of the Atlantic, although General Douglas MacArthur held a vision of the military future similar to that of Percy Hobart. Tank development was largely left to devoted individual officers in both Britain and America.

What Hobart's faction lacked in authority they made up for with energy and persistence. Aided by the strong independent voice of Liddell Hart, the tank enthusiasts were finally able in 1927 to pressure the British military hierarchy into the formation of an "experimental mechanized force." Maneuvers demonstrated dramatically that such a force outclassed old-style formations, leaving them bewildered and embarrassed. The theories of Liddell Hart and Fuller and the practical genius of Hobart's training and organization were vividly vindicated. The writing was on the wall for the old order.

The die-hards reacted with a more energetic campaign against tank advocates and theorists. At all costs tank men were to be kept out of high command. Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, whose writings had been widely acclaimed both in the US and Germany, was the first victim. By a series of subtle maneuvers he was quietly squeezed into retirement and never allowed to hold an important post. Other tank officers were sidetracked and discriminated against professionally.

Hobart was now a rising power in British military circles, and conservative machinations were directed against him. He miraculously survived these early efforts at strangulation of the new ideas, and held a series of commands in the Royal Tank Corps. He worked out a basic modern battle drill for tanks, and used all his considerable powers of persuasion to get radio-telephones for his armored fighting vehicles.

Like most things for which he struggled, radios are indispensable to the military of today. A tank in today's armies would hardly be considered battleworthy without radio. But Hobart spent months requesting, cajoling, demanding it. When the precious radios were finally obtained, Hobo was as happy as a child on Christmas morning. "Control is as important as hitting power, armor or mobility," he said.



Hobart, top left (in beret), commander of Britain's 1st Tank Brigade, atop a modified 16-tonner during 1934 military exercises on southern England's Salisbury Plain.

With the radios came a new dimension in tank tactics. The basic equipment for a modern tank force was now to hand and Hobart began building up the techniques of command and control that were to rock the world. He made a sharp departure from the army concepts of leadership then in vogue. He believed in men knowing what they were seeking to accomplish in a military operation, right down to privates. "I do not want automata serving under me," he told his subordinates.

He brought everyone serving with him into intimate contact with the higher strategic and tactical principles he was striving to establish in modern war. Although not an orator, Hobo was possessed of a virile and inspiring eloquence that generated tremendous enthusiasm. His gift was to focus this enthusiasm on practical military matters, charging the mundane with a rare magic. Hobart carried this principle over into the civilian circles where equipment was being manufactured for his tanks. When he finally got his radios, he sought out the young woman scientist who ground the crystals for these long-awaited sets. She was set up in the tank turret beside Hobart and he showed her how hundreds of fighting vehicles depended on the accuracy of her work.

After the young woman had gone away visibly impressed by what she had been shown, Hobart turned to his brigade major. "What a damned boring, awful job that girl has, grinding those crystals — but now she knows where we'd be without her."[1]

The soaring enthusiasm generated by Hobart's methods reached its zenith in the 1st Tank Brigade, formed in 1934 as the world's first permanent tank unit on modern lines. By this time a brigadier despite his radical views on warfare, Hobart was given command of this historic unit. He quickly infused the brigade with a booming *esprit de corps* unrivalled in the British Army.

Under his control at long last was the kind of formation that could conclusively prove the case for strategic mobility. Hobart lost no time. In a series of brilliantly executed war games, he proved the feasibility of driving to the enemy's rear with fast-moving armored units and completely disrupting enemy organization. He carried the revolution even further.

Hobart proved that armored units could both travel and fight by night. This innovation forced a complete revision of strategic and tactical concepts, for it placed old-style military units more than ever at the mercy of armored fighting vehicles. He firmly established the fundamentals of co-operation between tanks and air power, central to all that is done on the modern battlefield. He drove the 1st Tank Brigade hard. He knew how much could be proved and needed to be proved and that he might not be granted the time by his superiors. Continuing antagonism toward tanks, tank advocates and the new concepts of armored warfare characterized the high command of the army, and Hobart was never sure that his next war game would not be his last.

These unsparing efforts by Percy Hobart gave birth to the basic technique of the *Blitzkrieg*, the new mode of mobile warfare that was to bring nation after nation tumbling down and force Britain to the brink of defeat. The British high command remained irrationally prejudiced against the military technique that Hobart was unfolding. With a curious kind of intellectual detachment, most British leaders did not believe that the devastating

Medium battalions of Britain's 1st Tank Brigade, under the command of Percy Hobart, in close-order drill during military exercises in 1934.

effects of Hobart-style armored units could be carried over into actual warfare. Purblind views such as these aroused Hobart's fiercest antagonism: "What in hell is the use of having war exercises," he would fume, "when every lesson they teach us is ignored?"[2]

Skepticism about armor was reinforced by lingering love of the cavalry horse. The logical passage of this beloved beast into military limbo was delayed and obstructed by its devotees. These men became opposed to the tank on emotional, sentimental grounds, and found in Hobart a hostile, aggressive opponent. Horsemen nevertheless carried far more weight than tank men in British military life. Cavalry experts not only ruled the army commands, but had long tentacles into the body politic. Their influence was such that as late as 1936 the then secretary of war, Alfred Duff Cooper, apologized to the cavalry in Parliament for mechanizing eight of its regiments.

Hobart's achievements were running a poor second to the cavalry horse in Britain, but elsewhere they were undergoing dynamic scrutiny. A strong-jawed German colonel named Heinz Guderian probed with Teutonic thoroughness and an enthusiast's zeal into the lessons of every Hobart trial and exercise. Every report, observation and paper pertaining to Hobart's force was meticulously analyzed by Guderian, the Hobart of the new German Army. These studies formed the basis of the new panzer divisions, armored spearheads of Germany's new army. Hobart's 1st Tank Brigade was Guderian's practical guide, and answered many of the German leaders early problems. Guderian had his difficulties with German military conservatives, but he accorded his country's tank debunkers little attention. When they spoke of "tank limitations," Guderian would not listen. "That's the old school," Guderian would say, "and already it is old history. I put my faith in Hobart, the new man."

At the conclusion of some prewar maneuvers of Guderian's panzer division, the German general was reported to have offered a farewell toast in champagne — "To Hobart." The dynamic British pioneer was considerably less popular in Britain than he was with the modern military men of Germany. Unreasoning conservatism was taking an even sharper stand against tank men than ever before. The irrational nature of the conservative standpoint, combined with the menace to his country and the disasters that he could already foresee had turned Hobart into an explosively fierce advocate of what he knew to be true and proved by actual test.

The slender general's personal forcefulness and vehement manner of expressing himself in pursuit of his goals had earmarked him for professional extinction. "No man is any good who has no enemies" was one of Hobart's credos.[3] By the late 1930s he had more bitter foes in Britain's War Office than any other officer in the British Army. He had become involved in heated arguments with all Britain's military mandarins. Every leader from the Chief of the Imperial General Staff downwards had felt the whiplash of his tongue and the weight of his eloquent logic. Confrontations with senior officers could not long continue. Hobart's passion for the armored idea was actually leading him to risk his all.

Efforts to tone him down had little success. A deeply concerned Liddell Hart, in company with General "Tim" Pile — another long-time tank advocate — took Hobo out to dinner one evening. Their

purpose was to save not only Hobart himself, but the armored idea, which Hobo's confrontations with high personages was placing in jeopardy. Relaxing in a pleasant atmosphere, Liddell Hart quietly stressed to Hobo that he was alienating potential War Office converts by his infuriating ways of argument. Like all strong personalities, Hobart could pass from one extreme of behavior to another. Force was balanced in his character by a courtly and irresistible charm. "He apologized disarmingly," Liddell Hart recalls, "and promised that it would not occur again. But only a week later the Chief of the Imperial General Staff complained to me that Hobo had again been intolerably rude to him. I tackled Hobo about it, but he was completely unaware of having been rude to anyone."

In this climate of clash and controversy, Britain tardily began the formation of its first modern armored division. The Germans already had four and were building more. Hobart's fears and predictions were being realized. He was the logical man for the command, and the new secretary of war, energetic, reform-conscious Leslie Hore-Belisha, was determined that Hobart should get the vital assignment. War Office conservatives dug their toes in and treated Hore-Belisha to a bewildering exhibition of bureaucratic and professional resistance. The secretary was unable to put Hobart into the post, and recalled in later years: "In all my experience as a minister of the Crown, I never encountered such obstructionism as attended my wish to give the new armored division to Hobart."

A cavalryman whose most recent assignment had been the training of riding instructors was proposed by the War Office for command of the new armored division. This proposal fairly characterized the uncomprehending state of British military thought on the eve of the world's greatest war. In a compromise arrangement with the War Office, Hobart became director of military training. Hore-Belisha hoped by this stratagem that Hobart's personal drive, enthusiasm and knowledge of armored warfare could permeate all army training.

The tank genius was now deep in "enemy" territory. He was the last tank man of high rank left in an influential post. Like a loathsome infection, he was gradually walled off by the subtle processes of the War Office organism, while pressure mounted to expel him entirely from that august body. Hore-Belisha was continually urged to dismiss Hobart.

The Munich crisis provided the right emotional climate and an excuse to get rid of him completely. He was bundled on a Cairo-bound aircraft, assigned to raise and train Britain's second modern armored division. With Hobo's removal to the Nile delta, tank thinking was exterminated in Whitehall [Britain's Foreign Office], and as Liddell Hart put it, "The British Army was again made safe for military conservatism." For these decisions on the part of its highest military professionals, Britain was to pay dearly in life and prestige.

Scattered motorized and mechanized troops with obsolescent equipment were all that Hobart found in Egypt as the basis for a modern armored division. A grim enough prospect in itself, the equipment situation was overhung by a demoralizing and obstructive emotional factor. Commanding in Egypt was one of the British Army's remaining conservative hangovers from the First World War, a soldier for whom Hobart, himself a decorated veteran of the first conflict, had never failed to express his professional contempt. The commanding general was also a socially-minded soldier. He especially detested Hobart at the personal level for his 1928 marriage, for which Hobart's wife had gone through the divorce court.

Modern minds would regard such a procedure as little more than a fact of life. To the British Army of the period between the wars, it was a transgression sufficient to bring many threats of professional retribution on Hobart, one of them from the general who now commanded in Egypt.

Hobart's arrival was followed by a brief and brutally unceremonious interview in the quarters of the commanding general. "I don't know why the hell you're here, Hobart," he barked, "but I don't want you."

In this poisonous atmosphere, once again virtually isolated, Hobart buckled down to build the kind of armored division of which he had always dreamed. There was virtually no communication with main HQ, no sympathy with what he was doing, no co-operation and no equipment. Hobart proved his superb qualities under these negative, antagonistic conditions by bringing off the miracle of the 7th Armoured Division.

Troops accustomed to the sleepy garrison routine of Egypt found themselves with a stern taskmaster. Rushed into the desert to train by day and by night they soon found themselves permeated by the unconquerable spirit of the tall, hawk-faced Hobart. He infused them with the same magic morale he had given to the 1st Tank Brigade, and month by month he welded the scattered units into a determined, smoothly functioning fighting division.

Taking the *jerboa* (desert rat) as their emblem they were soon known as the "Desert Rats." They proved themselves Britain's finest armored division in the whole North African campaign. Lieutenant-General Sir Richard O'Connor, commander of the Western Desert Force of 1940, called the 7th Armoured Division "the best trained division I have ever seen."[4]

J. F. C. Fuller, as a Colonel, about 1919. During World War I, he organized the first British tank corps. Author of nearly 40 books, he is widely acknowledged as one of this century's most brilliant military strategists and historians. (A review of two biographies of Fuller appeared in the May-June 1993 *Journal*.)

The grim and frustrating duels of the War Office and the struggle for the armored idea slipped into the background as Hobart fulfilled himself in a man's job. When war broke out in September 1939, a deadly, hard-hitting and superbly mobile force was under his command. Lean, tanned and hard of body and mind, the 54-year-old Hobo was ready for whatever the war could bring.

Three months later, Hobart was dismissed from his command and sent into retirement.

This shocking blow came at the hands of General Sir Archibald Wavell, who decided to act on an adverse report on Hobart filed by the general who hated him and who had sworn professional retribution. Normally a man impervious to the effects of opposition or professional misfortune, Hobart was shaken to the roots of his being by his abrupt and complete dismissal.

Lady Hobart recalls the 1940 dismissal from the army as the one time in their life together that the general had shown distress over any reverse. "He was a stricken man," she says today. "To anyone lacking his intense fortitude, the wound would have been mortal. No warning whatever was given that this blow was to fall."

General Sir Archibald Wavell, who was himself a man with a keen mobile sense, was unable in later years to explain adequately his action in dismissing Hobart. The loss of the tank genius from the desert command was to have incalculable consequences for British arms and fortunes. Liddell Hart tackled Wavell about Hobart's dismissal personally, and made it clear to him how deplorable and damaging the whole affair had been. "Wavell's explanation was rather lame," says Liddell Hart.

Wavell went on to win his own immortal glories by crushing the Italians with the Hobart-trained 7th Armoured Division — the only unit available and able to nullify the overwhelming Italian advantage in manpower and machines. By one of destiny's strangest twists, Liddell Hart had compiled a list of the most promising officers in the British Army for Hore-Belisha in 1937. Only two men were singled from the multitude of British generals as likely to become great commanders — Wavell and Hobart.

The fortunes of the British Army in North Africa were left after Hobart's dismissal in the hands of high commanders who were no more than amateurs in the handling of modern armored forces. So tight was the conservative grip on command that it was not until the latter part of 1942 that authentic tank officers even reached divisional commands. This continuing prejudice and incomprehension was reflected by the British Army's record in the field. With an inferiority of force but with an intuitive gift for handling mobile forces, Rommel proceeded to thrash humiliatingly a succession of British generals sent against him. The troops in the field, as well as the public all over the world, began to wonder if the British had ever heard of the tank before Rommel. British troops in North Africa, repeatedly let down by their armored forces, began to look on their own tank units with considerable suspicion.

When Hobart went back to England, an appeal against his dismissal was made to the king. The appeal was never put forward by the War Office. In Britain's time of mortal danger, Hobart's foes had eliminated him completely from military affairs, and had no intention of bringing his case to the attention of the monarch. For his general's uniform and badges of rank Percy Hobart substituted the white brassard of the Home Guard on the sleeve of his lounge suit.

He joined the Home Guard without communicating anything of his intense disappointment to his wife and family. A deliberate effort had been made to break Hobart's spirit as well as to end his mili-

tary career. Self-pity might easily have overwhelmed a lesser man but Hobo was made of sterner stuff. "I cannot do what is ideal, so I must do what I can," he told his wife. He entered seriously into his Home Guard duties as a corporal. As the months passed, he seemed to develop an inner conviction that his chance would come, and that the wheels of the gods would eventually grind. For Hobo, the wheels of the gods ground along on German tank tracks.

Six months after Hobart's removal from the army, Guderian's panzers had run the British Army out of France in one of history's most humiliating routs. The able and farsighted German leader had used to perfection in war the techniques first tried and proved by Hobart. Never was there a more appropriate time for review of their military affairs and doctrines by the British, for only the miracle of Dunkirk had saved their beaten army from capture or annihilation.

Incredible as it must now seem, the stinging defeat of France and Dunkirk, with its devastating effects on morale and national pride, made little impression on Britain's military conservatives. Their intellectual detachment from the dynamism of events continued. The smashing of their First World War type formations in France was deemed due to some sort of lucky German punch, even though Hobart's Tank Brigade exercises in the middle 1930s had portended the armored revolution with undeniable clarity.

Winston Churchill was not satisfied either with these military notions, or the defeats they had brought upon Britain. He was no friend of military die-hardism. One of the early pioneers of the tank in the First World War, Churchill had helped batter down opposition to its introduction into the earlier conflict. Between the wars, the future prime minister had watched tank developments closely. Hobart's disastrous misemployment incensed Churchill, As prime minister and minister of defense he was the most powerful official in Britain, but getting Britain's leading tank tactician and general back into the army was to take every ounce of his authority, as well as some of his eloquence.

As late as October 1940, Hobart was still unemployed, his appointment obstructed high in the War Office. Churchill was given a dossier listing the reasons why the progenitor of the *Blitzkrieg* should not be given an armored division. Churchill replied to the resisting spirits in the War Office with a historic minute:[5]

> October 19, 1940
> *Prime Minister to Chief of Imperial General Staff:*
> I was very pleased last week when you told me you proposed to give an armored division to General Hobart. I think very highly of this officer, and I am not at all impressed by the prejudices against him in certain quarters. Such prejudices attach frequently to persons of strong personality and original view. In this case, General Hobart's views have been only too tragically borne out. The neglect by the General Staff even to devise proper patterns of tanks before the war has robbed us of all the fruits of this invention. These fruits have been reaped by the enemy, with terrible consequences. We should, therefore, remember that this was an officer who had the root of the matter in him, and also vision. I have carefully read your note to me, and the summary of the case for and against General Hobart. We are now at war, fighting for our lives, and we cannot afford to confine Army appointments to officers who have excited no hostile comment in their career. The catalogue of General Hobart's qualities and defects might almost exactly be attributed to any of the great commanders of British history.
>
> ... This is a time to try men of force and vision, and not be confined exclusively to those who are judged thoroughly safe by conventional standards.

With this push from Churchill, Hobart's star went into the ascendant. He raised and trained the 11th Armoured Division, earmarked to fight in North Africa. While he set his indelible personal stamp on the 11th, Hobart chafed at the disasters inflicted on the British in North Africa by Rommel. He felt certain that he could defeat the Desert Fox if given the chance, but on the eve of the 11th Armoured's departure for Africa, Britain's military reactionaries took one last ignominious cut at the brilliant tank leader.

Because his military views could no longer be gainsaid, the final effort to oust Hobart was made on medical grounds, and mainly because he was now 56. His opponents were unfortunate in that they made their last effort to ruin and remove Hobart in September of 1942, a black month for the British Army. Only three months earlier, Rommel had sent the powerful British 8th Army reeling back in a rabble from Tobruk. The Desert Fox stood now at El Alamein, readying his final thrust at Alexandria. This reverse had been inflicted by dynamically directed armored forces on the superior British Army and had left Churchill furious. The prime minister had also personally visited and inspected Hobart's new 11th Armoured Division only a few months previously, and had found Hobo in full vigor. Churchill's reaction to the final attempt to oust

Heinz Guderian was Germany's most important architect of armored warfare. In the years before Hitler came to power, when tanks were forbidden to Germany under the punitive Versailles Treaty, he learned much about modern armored warfare from a close study of the pioneering work of Britain's military strategists. In his postwar memoir, he specifically acknowledged his great debt to the writings of J.F.C. Fuller and B.H. Liddell Hart. Guderian also carefully studied accounts of Percy Hobart's innovative tank operations. After Hitler's advent, these lessons were applied in rapid development of the world's most powerful and effective armored force. In 1934 Hitler sanctioned the new *Wehrmacht*'s first tank battalion, and four years later he named Guderian to command Germany's armored formations.

Hobart was this second historic minute on the tank leader, filed on September 4, 1942:[6]

> *Prime Minister to Secretary of State for War:*
>
> I see nothing in these reports [of the Medical Board report on General Hobart] which would justify removing this officer from command of his division on its proceeding on active service.
>
> General Hobart bears a very high reputation, not only in the service, but in wide circles outside. He is a man of quite exceptional mental attainments, with great strength of character, and although he does not work easily with others, it is a great pity we do not have more of his like in the service. I have been shocked at the persecution to which he has been subjected. I am quite sure that if, when I had him transferred from a corporal in the Home Guard to the command of one of the new armored divisions, I had insisted instead on his controlling the whole of the tank developments, with a seat on the Army Council, many of the grievous errors from which we have suffered would not have been committed.
>
> The high commands of the Army are not a club. It is my duty ... to make sure that exceptionally able men, even though not popular with their military contemporaries, are not prevented from giving their services to the Crown.

As it happened, the assignment of Hobart's 11th Armoured Division to North Africa was cancelled at the last minute. Under Major-General G. P. B. "Pip" Roberts, a Hobart-trained tank leader of great skill, the 11th later became Britain's finest armored division in the whole of the European campaign. Hobart raised and trained the two finest British armored divisions of the war, but a more massive challenge awaited him now, beside which an ordinary divisional command would have been misuse of his unique talents.

The invasion of Europe and the subsequent campaign into Germany required a host of new-type tanks and armored vehicles. Tanks were needed for bridging ditches and rivers, clearing mine fields, throwing flame, destroying pillboxes and emplacements and for swimming ashore from landing craft with the assault waves and crossing rivers. Because these tanks did not exist in usable form, they had to be developed, together with the tactics for their employment. Men would have to be trained in the specialized task of manning these new weapons.

Design and development problems were enormous, and it was not a job for a riding instructor. Britain's new Chief of the Imperial General Staff, General Alan Brooke, had not been a Hobart enthusiast in prewar days. Nevertheless he was man and soldier enough to recognize that at this juncture there was one man in Britain pre-eminently qualified to develop specialized armor for the invasion and conquest of Europe.

General Alan Brooke called a somewhat bewildered and cautious Hobart to his London office in March 1943 and asked him to train a unit in the handling of specialized armor. This unit was later to become known as the 79th (Experimental) Armoured Division. After almost two decades of frustration, disappointment, sidetracking and out-

right victimization, Hobart suspected some sort of trap. Sir Alan Brooke's prewar apathy to the armored idea remained fresh in his mind. The ex-Home Guard corporal asked for time to consider the offer of command made to him by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff. Sir Alan Brooke agreed to this request, and Hobart set out to track down Liddell Hart and get his views on the proposal.

Hobart found Liddell Hart at the house of friends in Stoke Hammond, outside London. All urgency and energy, Hobo took the famed military analyst out in the garden for a private talk. Striding up and down in an icy wind for an hour, arguing about the new armored unit as a vehicle for Hobo's talents, they looked like anything but friends. Liddell Hart's wife Kathleen took periodic nervous looks out of the window. The vehemence of their discussion was unmistakable, and she wondered if they were quarrelling.

Liddell Hart finally convinced the gun-shy Hobart that it was an opportunity to be seized, and that such a chance would never come his way again. The 79th was to be the biggest division in the world, and also the first all-armored division. Tempted by the prospects, excited by the challenge, Hobo's resistance crumbled. He took the job.

Hobart's drive, knowledge and will-power became decisive in the building of the epic 79th. Time was short. There was virtually no background of previous experience on which to draw, a situation which placed a premium on Hobart's acumen, experience and military intuition. Challenge and fulfillment came together.

Trials and tests were endless. Hobart's gift for arousing enthusiasm for a new idea found full scope. The 79th (Experimental) Armoured Division took a bull's head as its insignia and soon boasted the same kind of soaring élan and confident professionalism that characterized other Hobart-trained formations. Urgency and excitement pervaded Hobart's environment, and no longer were there blockheads in brass hats to scrutinize and obstruct his requirements. On the contrary, men with wide authority moved heaven and earth to provide him with the necessary resources.

Field Marshal Montgomery, the conqueror of Rommel, was Percy Hobart's brother-in-law. Although a Hobart admirer for many years, Monty had tended to shy away from the tank idea when it was unpopular at the War Office. The hero of El Alamein now put his prestige behind Hobart's work and took up the needs of the 79th with General Eisenhower. The Supreme Commander quickly recognized Hobart's vital role and his unique abilities in developing specialized armor. Eisenhower slashed red tape and gave top priority to the US manufacture of the odd-looking tanks and attach-

Prime Minister Churchill, left, accompanied by General Hobart, right, inspects the 11th Armoured Division in November 1941.

ments Hobart required. High-level push of this kind, and Eisenhower's unstinting support of anything likely to save lives, soon provided the resources to assemble Hobart's "Menagerie," as it became known.

Liddell Hart has called the 79th Armoured Division "the tactical key to victory." Because it was not a division that fought as a unit, but had its elements farmed out to the Allied armies wherever they were needed, the 79th has far less historical fame than most of the Allied divisions that stormed through Europe. How far many other divisions would have been successful without the "funnies" of the 79th is a question for debate.

By the time the Allies reached the Rhine, Hobart's 79th Division consisted of eight brigades and a total of 17 regiments, quadrupling the complement of armored and tracked vehicles on the establishment of any normal armored division. This huge metal menagerie was spread out at times over a front of ninety miles, and the direction and allocation of its 1,900 armored vehicles kept Hobo hopping.

As the US Army in the beginning did not have specialized armor of its own, the 79th frequently worked in close support of US troops, and was the only British unit to do so. This situation suited Hobart. He liked Americans and they liked him. He was direct, frank and forceful, knew what he was

talking about and understood the American character as few British commanders ever did. He would verbally thrash any officer or man he heard speaking against the Anglo-American alliance, to which he was deeply devoted. At one time, he even had an American aide, New York oilman George Thomson Jr., who served with the British Army. Hobart's radiant admiration for things American, such as know-how and mechanical skill, was not a superficial or transitory thing. He had an intimate knowledge of American commanders and their views, and an extensive knowledge of US military history. He held America's top generals in the highest regard.

Major-General Sir Percy Hobart, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., M.C., Colonel-Commander of the Royal Tank Regiment, in a formal postwar photograph.

The directness and honesty of most American generals appealed greatly to Hobart. With the US 9th Army commander, General W.H. "Big Bill" Simpson, the feeling was mutual. Simpson was taken aback by Hobo's quiet boast that he was "the oldest major-general serving in Europe." Simpson says of the amazing Englishman: "He was the outstanding British officer of high rank that I met during the war, and from his mind and bearing no one could possibly have guessed his age."

Vigorous and vitally alive, Hobart served with his fantastic steel menagerie until the final gun of the war from which he had almost been excluded. The case for armor had been proved. The basis for future manifold developments of tanks had been laid by the accomplishments of the 79th. Wrote General Eisenhower in his report:[7]

> Apart from the factor of tactical surprise, the comparatively light casualties which we sustained on all beaches, except OMAHA, were in large measure due to the success of the novel mechanical contrivances which we employed, and to the staggering moral and material effect of the mass of armor landed in the leading waves of the assault. It is doubtful if the assault forces could have firmly established themselves without the assistance of these weapons.

Hobart had probably done more than any other single individual to advance both tanks and specialized armor on the practical level. Had Hobart's 79th Armoured Division, with its fearsome bull's head insignia, not been such a spectacular success, tank innovations may well have halted as they did after the First World War. Tanks are today an integral part of atomic battlefield planning.

Percy Hobart was knighted by King George VI, and from the US received the Legion of Merit, Degree of Commander, a decoration of which he was extremely proud. When he went into retirement after the Second World War, it was in an honorable and upright way, with his admirers far outnumbering his critics. His death in 1957 saw him deeply honored and widely mourned, and to have "served with Hobo" is a real distinction in the British Army, where his one-time juniors and students are now in the highest commands.

From persecution, victimization, and his incredible misemployment as a Home Guard corporal, Hobart's resurrection to a decisive command in the Allied armies is one of the more startling personal stories of the Second World War. His story was hardly the kind of thing likely to impress the public with the efficiency of the war effort, or the quality of Britain's military leadership. Thus he remained almost unknown outside army circles.

The most memorable tribute to Hobart came from Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, whose exposure of the Home Guard episode started the tank pioneer on the road back. All the high British commanders and most of the Americans had passed before the famed analyst in a living parade, as they pursued their careers and often aroused his criticism. Liddell Hart also knew the Germans well — perhaps better than any other military writer and thinker outside Germany. As Britain's leading military brain, his judgment has many times been vindicated, although his warnings all too often went unheeded.

In Liddell Hart's opinion, the independence of a top command would probably have proved Hobart to be the best of the British commanders, capable of matching the best of the Germans on equal terms. In summing up, Liddell Hart writes of Hobart: "He was one of the few soldiers I have known who could be rightly termed a military genius."

Notes

1. Personal reminiscence provided by General Sir John Crocker, Hobart's brigade-major in 1934.
2. Personal remembrance of General Sir John Crocker.
3. Personal recollection of Lady Dorothea Hobart.
4. General Sir Richard O'Connor, commander of the Western Desert Force, 1940-41. Cited in: B.H. Liddell Hart, *The Tanks* (Praeger, 1959), vol. I, p. 404.
5. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. II, "Their Finest Hour," 1st ed., pp. 602-603.
6. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, vol. IV, "The Hinge of Fate," 1st ed., p. 791.
7. Cited in: B. H. Liddell Hart, *The Tanks* (Praeger, 1959), vol. II, p. 332.

Author's Note

This article is slightly adapted from a chapter of my book *Hidden Heroes*, which was published in London in 1971 by Arthur Baker, Ltd. Since then, this unique collection of biographical sketches has received no exposure or publicity.

Consequently, the little-known Second World War tale of Percy Hobart's victimization and vindication is presented here, for the first time ever, to an American readership.

I remain much obliged, even after more than 30 years, to the late eminent military historian and analyst, Captain Sir Basil H. Liddell Hart. He gave freely of his professional time to assist me with numerous details, insights and clarifications. He patiently corrected my drafts of this story, in which he himself had been intimately involved from first to last.

The late General William H. Simpson, former commander of the US Ninth Army, enthusiastically shared his reminiscences of General Hobart. George Thomson, Jr., of New York, and Major John Borthwick of Britain, military aides to General Hobart after his "resurrection," provided valuable insights, each from his own perspective, into a many-sided military genius.

The late Generals Sir John Crocker and Sir Harold "Pete" Pyman, similarly contributed to this portrait of Hobart, as former students who lived not only to see their visionary teacher's predictions come true, but to be developed further in scarcely conceivable ways. Lady Dorothea Hobart, the great man's widow, rendered indispensable aid by rallying these eminent men to help me, and was throughout the soul of kindness.

"Nothing can alter my inner soul: I shall pursue my own straight course and shall do what I believe to be right and honorable."

— Frederick the Great

Liddell Hart on Hobart

"Much of the credit [for the February 1941 British victory against larger Italian forces at Beda Fomm, Libya] was due to a man who took no part in the campaign — Major-General P.C.S. Hobart, who had been appointed to command the armored division in Egypt when it was originally formed in 1938, and had developed its high pitch of maneuvering ability. But his ideas of how an armored force should be handled, and what it could achieve when operating in strategical independence of orthodox forces, had been contrary to the views of more conservative superiors. His 'heresy,' coupled with an uncompromising attitude, had led to his removal from command in the autumn of 1939 — six months before the German panzer forces, applying the same ideas, proved their practicability."

— B. H. Liddell Hart, in his *History of the Second World War* (New York: 1971), p. 117.

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"The good society is marked by a high degree of order, justice, and freedom. Among these, order has primacy: for justice cannot be enforced until a tolerable civil social order is attained, nor can freedom be anything better than violence until order gives us laws."

— Russell Kirk, *The Roots of American Order*

World Jewish Congress Called 'Morally False'

Hilberg Denounces Jewish 'Blackmail' Against Switzerland

For several years now, the World Jewish Congress and other major Jewish organizations have waged a fierce and much-publicized campaign to force Switzerland to pay millions to Jewish organizations and Holocaust survivors, to compensate for money allegedly deposited in Swiss banks by Jews who later perished during the Second World War, and for gold purchased from Germany that was allegedly stolen from Jews. On August 12, 1998, major Swiss banks capitulated by agreeing to a "global settlement" payment of $1.25 billion dollars.

While US politicians and the American media have predictably supported the Jewish campaign against the Alpine confederation, which has included threats of economic boycott, many

Edgar Bronfman with Bill Clinton

thoughtful people rightly regard this entire campaign as a disgraceful manifestation of Jewish power. Among those who have spoken out against it is Holocaust historian Raul Hilberg.

"I was nearly alarmed when I heard that the Swiss banks would pay 1.25 billion dollars," he said in a recent interview published in the respected Swiss weekly *Weltwoche* (January 28, 1999). In the campaign against Switzerland, Hilberg went on, "the Jews have used a weapon that can only be described as blackmail (*Erpressung*)." At another point in the interview he said: "I cannot accept the thesis that the blackmail methods were the only way to deal with this issue."

Hilberg, one of the world's most prominent Holocaust historians, is the author of the three-volume work *The Destruction of the European Jews*. Born in Vienna in 1926, he has for decades been a professor at the University of Vermont.

"I believe that the [Swiss] banks have paid more than they actually owe," Hilberg also told the Swiss weekly. "The demands of the World Jewish Congress are therefore morally false. If something belongs to another person, it doesn't belong to me. If I say that it belongs to me, I have to prove it. And when, as in the case of Holocaust money, it cannot be proven, a compromise based on healthy human intellect must be reached that is rational and acceptable."

"There is thus no relationship whatsoever," he went on, "between what the banks owe the Jews and what the World Jewish Congress has demanded and received." He expressed concern that the amount of the "global settlement" suggests that Europe's Jews in the late 1930s and early 1940s were much more wealthy than was actually the case.

Hilberg singled out World Jewish Congress president Edgar M. Bronfman for pointed criticism: "I cannot stress enough that the man who heads the World Jewish Congress does not speak for me. His family has one and half billion dollars. If he really wanted to, he could help a few poor survivors with money from his own vest pocket."

Hilberg also spoke about the problem of false Holocaust witness testimony, specifically citing the widely-praised memoir of "survivor" Benjamin Wilkomirski as a fabrication. (See "Holocaust Survivor Memoir Exposed as Fraud," Sept.-Oct. 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.) Said Hilberg: "This is indeed a problem of Holocaust research: people often make use of survivor testimony. It's the primary literature. But one must be very careful, because testimonies are often mistaken, memories can deceive, and some things are suppressed."

— M.W.

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Genocide By Telepathy, Hilberg Explains

Robert Faurisson

Raul Hilberg, the most prestigious of the authors who defend the thesis of the physical extermination of Jews by the Germans during the Second World War, began his investigation of this subject in 1948.

In 1961, after more than a dozen years' labor, he published *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books). In this work, he presents "the destruction of the European Jews" as a vast undertaking personally supervised by Hitler who, he says, gave two orders to this effect. Then, he continues, various German administrative agencies, especially in the police and the military, acted in conformity with these orders, duly coordinating their efforts to prepare, organize, control and carry out this vast criminal enterprise.

In 1976 appeared *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, a work by the most prestigious of revisionist authors, Arthur R. Butz, who teaches at Northwestern University near Chicago. He shows that the alleged extermination of the Jews constitutes "the hoax of the twentieth century."

In 1978-1979, I published two articles in the prominent Paris daily *Le Monde* demonstrating that the alleged Nazi gas chambers could not have existed, and this essentially for physical and chemical reasons.[1] These articles caused something of a stir. Two well-known French intellectuals, Raymond Aron and François Furet, announced that an international colloquium of experts would be held to establish before the world that the extermination of Jews and the Nazi gas chambers really existed. Among the experts who figured in this was Raul Hilberg.

Just before the start of the colloquium, a lengthy interview with Hilberg appeared in the influential French magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur*, in which the German-born Jewish historian expressed some astounding ideas.[2] Regarding the destruction of the European Jews and the Nazi gas chambers, he basically said that no documents exist that really prove these things, but rather only some testimonies that

Raul Hilberg

"accord somewhat."

While Hilberg of course holds to his basic extermination thesis, this explanation is radically different from the one he had previously given. It is obvious that revisionism is responsible for this change. Hilberg more or less conceded this, even if only indirectly. Specifically, he declared:[3]

> I will say that, in a certain way, Faurisson and others, without wanting to, did us a favor. They raised questions which had the effect of engaging historians in new research. They have obliged us to once again collect information, to re-examine documents and to go further into the comprehension of what has taken place.

The international colloquium took place as scheduled at the Sorbonne from June 29 to July 2, 1982, but behind closed doors. Then, an account of its discussions and conclusions was given at a press conference. But, to the surprise of everyone present, only Raymond Aron and François Furet appeared at the press conference, declaring, on the one hand, that "despite the most scholarly research," no one had been able to find any order by Hitler for the extermination of the Jews, and, on the other, that pursuing the revisionists in court was like conducting a witch-hunt. *Not one word was said about gas chambers.*

Seven months later Hilberg summarized his new thesis before an audience of nearly 2,700 at Avery Fischer Hall in New York City: the entire German policy for the physical destruction of the Jews was to be explained by *mind reading*! No document attesting to this criminal policy could be found, because no such document existed. For several years, the entire German bureaucratic machinery operated through a kind of telepathy. As Hilberg put it:[4]

> But what began in 1941 was a process of destruction not planned in advance, not orga-

---

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*.

This essay is an adaptation of a piece originally written in 1988.

> nized centrally by any agency. There was no blueprint and there was no budget for destructive measures. They [these measures] were taken step by step, one step at a time. Thus came about not so much a plan being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy.

Let us note again those final words: "an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus — mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy."[5]

Two years later, Hilberg confirmed those words and this explanation during the first "Holocaust trial" of Ernst Zündel in Toronto. He did this under oath during his cross-examination by Zündel's lawyer, Douglas Christie, whom I was assisting.[6]

That same year (1985) the "revised and definitive" edition of his book appeared. In it, the University of Vermont professor did not use the expression "consensus" or "mind reading." And yet he wrote:[7]

> In the final analysis, the destruction of the Jews was not so much a product of laws and commands as it was a matter of spirit, of shared comprehension, of consonance and synchronization.

He also wrote of "countless decision makers in a far-flung bureaucratic machine" without "a basic plan." He mentioned "written directives not published," "oral directives and authorizations," and "basic understandings of officials resulting in decisions not requiring orders or explanations." There had been "no one agency," he wrote, and "no single organization directed or coordinated the entire process." The destruction of the Jews, he concluded, was "the work of a far-flung administrative machine," and "no special agency was created and no special budget was devised to destroy the Jews of Europe. Each organization was to play a specific role in the process, and each was to find the means to carry out its task."[8]

For me, this is like explaining what would have been a huge criminal undertaking of industrial proportions based, in particular, on a weapon (a chemical slaughterhouse using an insecticide), operating through the intervention of the Holy Ghost, all of which had been conceived and created through a kind of spontaneous generation.

I refuse to believe that which is not believable. I refuse to believe in the incredible. I refuse to believe in what Hilberg himself calls "an incredible meeting of minds." I refuse to believe in mind reading or telepathy, just as I refuse to believe in the intervention of the Holy Ghost or in spontaneous generation. I take exception to any historical thesis, any system of historical explanation, based on such harebrained notions.

On November 23, 1978, the French historian René Rémond declared to me: "As for the [Nazi] gas chambers, I am ready to follow you; as for the genocide, I have the deep conviction that Nazism in itself was sufficiently perverse so that this genocide was part of its motivations and its actions, but I recognize that I have no scientific evidence for this genocide."

This is indeed the least one might say when one is concerned about historical truth.

Notes

1. "'Le problème des chambres à gaz' ou 'la rumeur d'Auschwitz'," *Le Monde*, Dec. 29, 1978, and, "Une lettre de M. Faurisson," *Le Monde*, Jan. 16, 1979, Reprinted in: R. Faurisson, *Memoire en Defense* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980), pp. 71-75, 83-88, and in: R. Faurisson, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), published in four volumes in 1999, vol. 1, pp. 122-124, 131-134.
2. "Les Archives de l'horreur," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, July 3-9, 1982, pp. 70-73, 75-76. The interview was conducted Guy Sitbon, regular correspondent in the United States for *Le Nouvel Observateur*.
3. *Le Nouvel Observateur*, July 3-9, 1982, p. 71. Also quoted in the Summer 1985 *Journal*, p. 170.
4. Quoted in: George De Wan, "The Holocaust in Perspective," *Newsday* (Long Island, New York), Feb. 23, 1983, p. II/3. Also quoted in the Summer 1985 *Journal*, pp. 170-171.
5. According to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, "mind reading" is defined as "The faculty of discerning another's thoughts through extrasensory means of communication; telepathy."
6. Hilberg testimony on Jan. 16, 1985 (Toronto). Trial transcript, pp. 846-848.
7. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985, 3 vols.), p. 55.
8. R. Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1985), pp. 53-55, 62.

False Assumption

"American policy today stirs up everything and settles nothing. The result is that it creates a void, opening the way to new tyrannies instead of new freedoms. At the bottom of America's attitude is the assumption that all the world wishes to be American. And that assumption is false."

— Hadj T'hami el Glaoui, pasha of Marrakesh, in 1944. Quoted in: James J. Martin, *Revisionist Viewpoints* (1971), p. 18.

German 'Indexing' of IHR Leaflets Cancelled

In October 1996 a German government agency "indexed" as "dangerous to youth" translations of two popular leaflets published by the Institute for Historical Review. Germany's "Federal Review Agency for Literature Dangerous to Youth" (*Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften*), acting at the request of the country's Interior Ministry, "indexed" unauthorized Internet translations of "The Holocaust: Let's Hear Both Sides," by Mark Weber, and "The Liberation of the Camps: Facts versus Lies," by Theodore J. O'Keefe.

An "indexed" item cannot be publicly advertised or otherwise offered for sale to minors. Normally the agency uses its "indexing" authority to restrict distribution of pornography, although it often targets "politically incorrect" books and other literature as well.

In the case of these IHR leaflets, the impact of the agency's action was mostly symbolic, because these two flawed German translation texts exist only on the "Zündelsite," a California-based Internet web site that includes writings by German-Canadian publicist Ernst Zündel, reports on his activities, and extensive writings by others.

As any careful reader of the texts in question can easily determine for himself, the key justifications given by the agency for this particular "indexing" decision are simply not true. (See "German Authorities 'Index' Two IHR Leaflets," July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 29-31.)

Zündel's German attorney, Jürgen Rieger of Hamburg, formally appealed the agency's "indexing" of several "Zündelsite" items, including the two IHR leaflets. For one thing, he argued, the agency had failed to explain precisely in what way these items were "dangerous to youth."

In a letter to the agency, Rieger went on to remark:

> Apparently you seem to think that merely to show that someone is a revisionist is sufficient basis for an indexing application. In this regard, I would like to point out that the European Union declined to adopt the comparable German laws [regarding "indexing"], and that the United Nations Organization has issued an official reprimand against the [German] Federal Justice Ministry because the Holocaust law and legal system in Germany violate the basic right of freedom of opinion.
>
> While pushing for ever greater restrictions on freedom of opinion, the [German] Federal Republic, at the risk of loitering in the Middle Ages, isolates itself ever further from the standard of law that prevails, fortunately, around the world.

Jürgen Rieger

In January 1999 an administrative court in Cologne agreed with Rieger that the agency lacked a legal basis for its "indexing" of the seven "Zündelsite" items. The 1996 action, it declared, was therefore contrary to law.

Capable and Dedicated Activist

Over the years Rieger has earned a hard-won reputation as one of his country's most capable and courageous legal defenders of "politically incorrect" nationalists and patriots. And his activism is not confined to the courtroom.

Participating in the large open-air "Leuchter Kongress" rally in Munich on March 23, 1991, he delivered a detailed address on the legal situation in Germany. On September 28, 1996, he addressed

6,000 people at a meeting in Passau of the "German Peoples Union" (DVU), where he was also awarded the "Freedom Prize" of the weekly *Deutsche National-Zeitung*. He is also a capable writer and editor. At one time he edited the impressive scholarly journal *Neue Anthropolgie* ("New Anthropology"), published by the Society for Biological Anthropology, Eugenics and Behavioral Science.

Not surprisingly, Rieger's work has provoked the wrath of spiteful enemies, some of whom have not confined their expressions of hate to mere rhetoric. On August 30, 1995, several masked leftists brutally attacked him while he was walking on a public street in Hamburg. They beat him with wooden clubs and baseball bats, and kicked him after he fell to the ground.

The attacks stopped when passersby intervened. A rescue helicopter quickly flew Rieger to a university hospital, where intensive care unit physicians treated a large head wound, a fractured wrist, and bruises all over his body. They were able to save the almost fatally injured victim only because he had used his briefcase to protect his head. All the same, his right arm and right hand were in a cast for weeks, and he was not able to move his right hand for months.

Only one of the assailants was caught and charged: a 21-year-old Iranian-born student, A. Grakoui, who held a German passport. His parents lived in Berlin where, amazingly, his mother was employed at the Jewish Museum.

Expressing no regret for the cowardly attack, Grakoui refused to name any of his fellow assailants. He was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment for aggravated assault. In addition, Rieger brought a civil lawsuit against Grakoui, who paid 20,000 marks as injury compensation.

If a similar attack had been carried out by German skinheads against an Iranian student, says Rieger, the perpetrators would have been charged with attempted murder (not aggravated assault), and sentenced to eight years (not 15 months) imprisonment.

At the time of the attack, Rieger was defending two young Germans who were being prosecuted for having used the phrase "Auschwitz myth" in a critical commentary they had issued about Spielberg's "Schindler's List" movie.

— *M.W.*

"When truth is buried underground, it grows, it chokes, it gathers such an explosive force that on the day it bursts out, it blows up everything with it."
— Emile Zola

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Revisionist Publications: Around the World

Garaudy Reaches Japanese Readers

In terms of global impact, especially in France and the Arab-Muslin world, one of the most important revisionist works to appear in recent years is *Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne* ("The Founding Myths of Israeli Policy"), a readable and well referenced work by noted French author and intellectual Roger Garaudy.

In a much-publicized case, a Paris court on February 27, 1998, fined Garaudy 240,000 francs ($40,000) for statements made in his 1996 book. The octogenarian scholar was found guilty of "denying crimes against humanity" by expressing skepticism of the Holocaust extermination story, and for "racist defamation" by citing the awesome Jewish role in the Western media. Garaudy, a convert to Islam, garnered considerable support in Arab and Muslim countries for his legal battle, where the case has been widely regarded as yet another example of the hypocrisy that prevails in Europe and the United States on issues involving Jewish and Zionist interests. (For more about Garaudy and his travails, see the March-April 1998 Journal, pp. 16-18.)

Garaudy's "Founding Myths" (reviewed in the March-April 1996 *Journal*, pp. 35-36) quickly appeared in several languages. Now a Japanese edition is available in a handsome, 400-page hardcover volume, with bibliography, source references and index. Responsible for this edition is revisionist activist Aiji Kimura, a Tokyo journalist who is the author of several books, including a critical treatment of the US-Japanese role in the Gulf War. In November 1994 he visited the IHR office in southern California, where he conducted a videotaped interview with *Journal* editor Mark Weber.

Roger Garaudy

Attractive Booklet for Czech Readers

Aimed at a wide readership is a handsome, well illustrated, 52-page Czech-language booklet, *Osvetim: fakta versus fikce* ("Auschwitz: Facts versus Fiction"), by Rudolf Seidl. In spite of its title, it covers much more than Auschwitz. Packed with charts, diagrams and numerous good quality photographs, including several in full color, this punchy 1998 booklet is an effective introduction to the revisionist view of the Holocaust extermination story. It sells for 60 Czech koruny each, with bulk rates available. Order from: VHO, Postbus 60, 2600 Berchem 2, Belgium.

Ahead of His Time

The generally acknowledged founder of Holocaust revisionism was Paul Rassinier, a French educator and underground Resistance activist who was arrested by the Gestapo in 1943 and interned until the end of the war in the Buchenwald and Dora concentration camps. His courage and suffering were later recognized with France's highest decoration awarded for Resistance activities, and he was elected to the French National Assembly as a deputy of the Socialist Party (SFIO). His memoirs of wartime camp experiences, *Passage de la Ligne* ("Crossing the Line") and *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse* ("The Lie of Ulysses"), brought heated rebuke.

In 1950 the gifted French writer Albert Paraz provided a preface to an edition of Rassinier's "Ulysses' Lie." In this remarkable piece, Paraz courageously and elegantly identified with Rassinier's skepticism about the gas chamber story, even calling for an international commission of independent historians to thoroughly investigate this emotion-laden issue.

Paraz' 1950 preface, out of print for many years, is once again available in a booklet published in January 1999, *Préface a Mensonge d'Ulysse de Paul Rassinier* ("Preface to 'The Lies of Ulysses' by Paul Rassinier"). In foreword to this new edition, Robert Faurisson commends Paraz for the "audacity of his

Paul Rassinier

thinking and the freedom of his tone." Comparing him to Céline, Faurisson also praises Paraz for "his generosity, his panache, his style." This 60-page, soft cover booklet is available, for 80 francs each, from: Éditions Akribeia, 45/3 route de Vourles, 69230 St.-Genis-Laval, France.

Detailed Majdanek Study

At the great Nuremberg trial of 1945-46, Allied officials charged that the Germans had killed one and a half million people at the Majdanek concentration camp, at Lublin in Poland. In recent decades, though, Majdanek has been little more than a footnote to the Holocaust story, and today no serious historian accepts the once supposedly proven claims of hundreds of thousands of victims there. Moreover, detailed, scholarly information about the camp has been scarce.

To fill this gap, two of Europe's leading revisionist scholars — Jürgen Graf of Switzerland and Carlo Mattogno of Italy — have written *KL Majdanek: Eine historische und technische Studie* ("Majdanek Concentration Camp: A Historical and Technical Study"). This new detailed work is the fruit of two years of diligent archival work and intensive study of original documents from Eastern European archives. Among other issues, the authors examine and debunk the Majdanek "gas chambers" legend.

This soft cover, German-language work of 300 pages was published in 1998. It contains charts, diagrams, facsimile reproductions of original documents, and wartime aerial photographs. There are 30 photographs (including eight in color), as well as a bibliography, copious source references, and an index. It is available, for 45 German marks each, from the publisher: Castle Hill, P.O. Box 118, Hastings, E. Sussex, TN34 3ZQ, England - UK.

Auschwitz Central Construction Office

Italian scholar Carlo Mattogno has written a detailed study of the central SS construction office, or *Zentralbauleitung*, of the Auschwitz camp complex. This agency was responsible for all construction in Auschwitz-Birkenau, including the notorious crematory facilities (with their alleged extermination "gas chambers").

La "Zentralbauleitung der Waffen SS und Polizei Auschwitz," published in 1998, is based on long-suppressed German wartime documents, especially records seized by the Soviets in 1945 and hidden for decades in Moscow state archives.

About half of this 215-page soft cover work consists of facsimile reproductions of original documents, including work orders, labor lists, charts and diagrams. It contains source references and a name index. It is available from: Libreria Ar, largo Dogana Regia, 84121 Salerno, Italy.

German Booklet Aims at Mass Readership

Germany's leading Jewish community figure, Ignatz Bubis, has called on authorities to take legal measures against an effective, information-packed, 40-page revisionist booklet, *Antwort Auf die Goldhagen- und Spielberglügen* ("Answer to the Goldhagen and Spielberg Lies"). By July 1998, some 40,000 copies had been distributed in Germany and Austria, making it the most widely distributed German-language revisionist publication so far. It is now in its fourth edition.

Its clear, easily readable prose style, catchy illustrations and handy format (6 1/2 by 9 1/2 inches) make it well suited for a mass readership. It is available — ten copies for 30 German marks — from the publisher: VHO, Postfach 60, B-2600 Berchem 2, Belgium.

Nuremberg Study in French

Taking aim at well-entrenched myths about the Nuremberg trials is a recently published 125-page soft cover book by Mark Weber, *La Face cachée de Nuremberg* ("The Hidden Side of Nuremberg"). Abundantly illustrated, this is an adaptation, with much added material, of Weber's lengthy essay, "The

Carlo Mattogno, left, with Russ Granata, at the Twelfth IHR Conference, September 1994.

Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," from the Summer 1992 *Journal of Historical Review.* This is a special 1998 issue of a new the French revisionist periodical. (See "'Alternative History' in France," in the March-April 1998 *Journal*, p. 30.) Selling for 125 francs each, this book is available from *L'Autre Histoire*, B.P. 3, 35134 Coesmes, France.

An Italian Examination of the 'Faurisson Case'

Italian author Cesare Saletta presents an overview of legal repression of Holocaust revisionism in various European countries, with special emphasis on the legal persecution of French scholars Robert Faurisson and Serge Thion, in a December 1997 booklet, *Il Caso Faurisson e il Revisionismo Olocausto* ("The Faurisson Case and Holocaust Revisionism").

This 135-page soft cover book (with index) includes essays by Faurisson and Thion, as well as the much-cited 1980 essay by Jewish-American scholar Noam Chomsky, in which he defends the free speech of Holocaust revisionists. By the same publisher is a 55-page companion booklet, *La repressione legale del revisionismo e l'emergere di una questione ebraica* ("The Legal Repression of Revisionism and the Rise of a Jewish Question"). Both are published by: Graphos, Campetto 4, 16123 Genova, Italy.

A New Look at the Gerstein 'Confession'

For many years the "confession" of SS officer Kurt Gerstein has been widely cited as proof for the existence of German wartime homicidal gas chambers. The first critical and scholarly examination of this postwar "testimony" was provided by French historian Henri Roques in a much-discussed 1986 doctoral dissertation. Striking at the roots of the Holocaust story, Roques concluded in his "thesis of Nantes" that not only were Gerstein's allegations of mass killings of Jews groundless, but prominent Holocaust historians have deliberately manipulated and falsified key parts of Gerstein's tortured testimony. Roques' exposé was published in English by the IHR as *The 'Confessions' of Kurt Gerstein* (available from the IHR for $9.50, postpaid).

Now Roques has expanded on his 1986 work with a complementary new work, *Quand Alain Decaux reconte l'histoire du SS Kurt Gerstein* ("When Alain Decaux recounts the history of SS [man] Kurt Gerstein"). The title of this recently published, French-language booklet refers to a work by the well-known French historian Alain Decaux. This bold 76-page booklet (with source references), written together with Vincent Reynouard, further nails the role of the Gerstein "testimony" in the Holocaust extermination legend.

Revisionist Writing from Spain

For some time now the most important revisionist scholar in Spain has been Enrique Aynat, an IHR *Journal* contributor and a member of this *Journal*'s Editorial Advisory Committee. His publications include *El Holocausto a Debate: Respuesta a César Vidal* ("The Holocaust in Debate: a Response to César Vidal"), a 182-page booklet with index and source references, and *Estudios sobre el 'Holocausto'* ("'Holocaust' Studies"), a 175-page soft cover work.

Enrique Aynat

A more recent publication is a 132-page, 1997 soft cover work, *Estudios sobre Auschwitz* ("Auschwitz Studies"), with charts, source references, and facsimile reproductions of some original documents. It includes a lengthy statistical examination by Aynat of data on the mortality of Jews deported from France to Auschwitz in 1942, as well as a detailed essay by Jean-Marie Boisdefeu on a wartime report about Auschwitz by Belgian Resistance figure Victor Martin. *Estudios sobre Auschwitz* is available from: Apdo. de Correos 12.083, 46080 Valencia, Spain.

Affirmation, Not Denial

A reminder: Revisionists do not deny the genocide and the gas chambers. That is a misconception. Galileo didn't deny that the earth was stationary; he affirmed, at the conclusion of his research, that the earth was not stationary, but that it rotated on its axis and revolved around the sun. In the same way, the revisionists, after concluding their own research, affirm *that there was no genocide and no gas chambers, and that the "final solution of the Jewish question" consisted of the removal of the Jews from Europe — by emigration if possible, and by deportation if necessary.*

The revisionists strive to establish what happened; they are positive, while the exterminationists doggedly continue to tell us about things which didn't happen*: their work is negative.*

The revisionists stand for the reconciliation of the antagonists in the recognition of what really happened.

— Robert Faurisson

Jews and Israel

Zionism and Anti-Semitism: A Strange Alliance Through History

ALLAN C. BROWNFELD

It has, for many years, been a tactic of those who seek to silence open debate and discussion of US Middle East policy to accuse critics of Israel of "anti-Semitism."

In a widely discussed article entitled "J'Accuse" (*Commentary*, September 1983), Norman Podhoretz charged America's leading journalists, newspapers and television networks with "anti-Semitism" because of their reporting of the war in Lebanon and their criticism of Israel's conduct. Among those so accused were Anthony Lewis of *The New York Times*, Nicholas von Hoffman, Joseph Harsch of *The Christian Science Monitor*, Rowland Evans, Robert Novak, Mary McGrory, Richard Cohen and Alfred Friendly of *The Washington Post*, and a host of others. These individuals and their news organizations were not criticized for bad reporting or poor journalistic standards; instead, they were the subject of the charge of anti-Semitism.

Podhoretz declared: "... The beginning of wisdom in thinking about this issue is to recognize that the vilification of Israel is the phenomenon to be addressed, not the Israeli behavior that provoked it ... We are dealing here with an eruption of anti-Semitism."

To understand Norman Podhoretz and others who have engaged in such charges, we must recognize that the term "anti-Semitism" has undergone major transformation. Until recently, those guilty of this offense were widely understood to be those who irrationally disliked Jews and Judaism. Today, however, the term is used in a far different way — one which threatens not only free speech but also threatens to trivialize anti-Semitism itself.

Anti-Semitism has been redefined to mean anything that opposes the policies and interests of Israel. The beginning of this redefinition may be said to date, in part, from the 1974 publication of the book *The New Anti-Semitism* by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The nature of the "new" anti-Semitism, according to Forster and Epstein, is not necessarily hostility toward Jews as Jews, or toward Judaism, but, instead a critical attitude toward Israel and its policies.

Later, Nathan Perlmutter, when he was director of the Anti-Defamation League, stated that, "There has been a transformation of American anti-Semitism in recent times. The crude anti-Jewish bigotry once so commonplace in this country is today gauche ... Poll after poll indicates that Jews are one of America's most highly regarded groups."

'Semitically Neutral Postures'

Perlmutter, however, refused to declare victory over such bigotry. Instead, he redefined it. He declared:

> The search for peace in the Middle East is littered with mine fields for Jewish interests ... Jewish concerns that are confronted by the Semitically neutral postures of those who believe that if only Israel would yield this or that, the Middle East would become tranquil and the West's highway to its strategic interests and profits in the Persian Gulf would be secure. But at what cost to Israel's security? Israel's security, plainly said, means more to Jews today than their standing in the opinion polls ...

What Perlmutter did was to substitute the term "Jewish interests" for what are, in reality, "Israeli interests." By changing the terms of the debate, he created a situation in which anyone who is critical of Israel becomes, ipso facto, "anti-Semitic."

The tactic of using the term "anti-Semitism" as a weapon against dissenters is not new. Dorothy Thompson, the distinguished journalist who was one of the earliest enemies of Nazism, found herself criticizing the policies of Israel shortly after its creation. Despite her valiant crusade against Hitler, she, too, was subject to the charge of "anti-Semitism." In a letter to *The Jewish Newsletter* (April 6,

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Allan C. Brownfeld is a syndicated columnist and associate editor of the *Lincoln Review*, a journal published by the Lincoln Institute for Research and Education, and editor of *Issues*, the quarterly journal of the American Council for Judaism. This article is reprinted from the July-August 1998 issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (P.O. Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009).

1951) she wrote:

> Really, I think continued emphasis should be put upon the extreme damage to the Jewish community of branding people like myself as anti-Semitic ... The State of Israel has got to learn to live in the same atmosphere of free criticism which every other state in the world must endure ... There are many subjects on which writers in this country are, because of these pressures, becoming craven and mealy-mouthed. But people don't like to be craven and mealy-mouthed; every time one yields to such pressure one is filled with self-contempt and this self-contempt works itself out in a resentment of those who caused it.

A quarter-century later, columnist Carl Rowan (*Washington Star*, Feb. 5, 1975) reported:

> When I wrote my recent column about what I perceive to be a subtle erosion of support for Israel in this town, I was under no illusion as to what the reaction would be. I was prepared for a barrage of letters to me and newspapers carrying my column accusing me of being "anti-Semitic" ... The mail rolling in has met my worst expectations ... This whining baseless name-calling is a certain way to turn friends into enemies.

What few Americans understand is that there has been a long historical alliance — from the end of the 19th century until today — between Zionism and real anti-Semites — from those who planned pogroms in Czarist Russia to Nazi Germany itself. The reason for the affinity many Zionist leaders felt for anti-Semites becomes clear as this history emerges.

Theodor Herzl

When Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern political Zionism, served in Paris as a correspondent for a Vienna newspaper, he was in close contact with the leading anti-Semites of the day. In his biography of Herzl, *The Labyrinth of Exile*, Ernst Pawel reports that those who financed and edited *La Libre Parole*, a weekly dedicated "to the defense of Catholic France against atheists, republicans, Free Masons and Jews," invited Herzl to their homes on a regular basis.

Alluding to such conservatives and their publications, Pawel writes that Herzl "found himself captivated" by these men and their ideas:

> *La France Juive* [of Edouard Drumont] struck him as a brilliant performance and — much

Theodor Herzl

> like [Eugen] Dühring's notorious *Jewish Question* ten years later — it aroused powerful and contradictory emotions ... On June 12, 1895, while in the midst of working on *Der Judenstaat*, [Herzl] noted in his diary, "much of my current conceptual freedom I owe to Drumont, because he is an artist." The compliment seems extravagant, but Drumont repaid it the following year with a glowing review of Herzl's book in *La Parole Libre*.

In the end, Pawel argues, "Paris changed Herzl, and French anti-Semites undermined the ironic complacency of the Jewish would-be non-Jew." Yet Herzl was not entirely displeased with anti-Semitism. In a private letter to Moritz Benedikt, written in the final days of 1892, he writes: "I do not consider the anti-Semitic movement altogether harmful. It will inhibit the ostentatious flaunting of conspicuous wealth, curb the unscrupulous behavior of Jewish financiers, and contribute in many ways to the education of the Jews ... In that respect we seem to be in agreement."

Herzl's book *Der Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State"), was widely disparaged by the leading Jews of the day, who viewed themselves as French, German, English or Austrian citizens and Jews by religion — with no interest in a separate Jewish state. Anti-Semites, on the other hand, eagerly greeted Herzl's work. Herzl's arguments, Pawel points out, were "all but indistinguishable from those used by the anti-Semites." One of the first reviews appeared in the *Westungarischer Grenzbote*, an anti-Semitic journal published in Bratislava by Ivan von Simonyi, a member of the Hungarian Diet. He praised

Menachem Begin speaking at a political rally in Israel, 1948. In front is the emblem of the *Herut* ("Freedom") party, which he led. (This was the predecessor of today's *Likud* party.) The emblem shows a map of *Eretz Israel*, or "greater Israel," which includes not only the West Bank, but all of Jordan to its border with Iraq. Behind, on the wall, is a portrait of Zionist leader Vladimir Jabotinsky. In the years before the founding of the Israeli state in 1948, Begin led the *Irgun Zvai Leumi*, a Zionist terrorist organization. Later, he served as Israel's prime minister, 1977-1983.

both the book and Herzl, and was so carried away with his enthusiasm that he paid Herzl a personal visit. Herzl wrote in his diary:

> My weird follower, the Bratislava anti-Semite Ivan von Simonyi came to see me. A hypermercurial, hyperloquacious sexagenerian with an uncanny sympathy for the Jews. Swings back and forth between perfectly rational talk and utter nonsense, believes in the blood libel and at the same time comes up with the most sensible modern ideas. Loves me.

After the barbaric Kishinev pogrom of April 1901, when hundreds of Jews were killed or wounded, Herzl came to Russia to barter with V. K. Plehve, the Russian interior minister who had incited the pogrom. Herzl told Jewish cultural leader Chaim Zhitlovsky: "I have an absolutely binding promise from Plehve that he will procure a charter for Palestine for us in 15 years at the outside. There is one condition, however, the revolutionaries must stop their struggle against the Russian government."

Zhitlovsky, incensed at Herzl for dealing with a killer of Jews, and aware that Herzl had been outsmarted, persuaded him to abandon the idea. Still, the Zionist leaders in Russia agreed with the government that the real responsibility for the pogroms rested with the Jewish Bund, a socialist group urging democratic reforms in the Czarist regime. Zionists wanted Jews to remain aloof from Russian politics until it was time to leave for Palestine.

The head of the secret police in Moscow, S.V. Zubatov, was sympathetic to Zionism as a way to silence Jewish opponents of the repressive Czarist regime. In her book *The Fate of the Jews*, Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht reports that

> Zionism appealed greatly to police chief Zubatov, as it does to all anti-Semites, because it takes the Jewish problem elsewhere. Both Zubatov and the Zionists wanted to destroy the Bund, Zubatov to protect his country, and the Zionists to protect theirs. Zionism's success is based on a Jewish misery index; the greater the misery, the greater the wish to emigrate. The last thing the Zionists wanted was to improve conditions in Russia. Zionists served Zubatov as police spies and subverters of the Bund ...

In his book *Jewish History, Jewish Religion*, Israel Shahak points out that

> Close relations have always existed between Zionists and anti-Semites; exactly like some of the European conservatives, the Zionists thought they could ignore the "demonic" character of anti-Semitism and use the anti-Semites for their own purposes ... Herzl allied himself with the notorious Count von Plehve, the anti-Semitic minister of Tsar Nicholas II; Jabotinsky made a pact with Petlyura, the reactionary Ukrainian leader whose forces massacred some 100,000 Jews in 1918-1921 ... Perhaps the most shocking example of this type is the delight with which Zionist leaders in Germany welcomed Hitler's rise to power, because they shared his belief in the primacy of "race" and his hostility to the assimilation of Jews among "Aryans." They congratulated Hitler on his triumph over the common enemy — the forces of liberalism.

'We Jews'

Dr. Joachim Prinz, a German Zionist rabbi who subsequently emigrated to the United States, where he became vice-chairman of the World Jewish Congress and a leader in the World Zionist Organization, published in 1934 a book *Wir Juden* ("We Jews") to celebrate Hitler's so-called German Revolution and the defeat of liberalism. He wrote:

> The meaning of the German Revolution for the German nation will eventually be clear to those who have created it and formed its image. Its meaning for us must be set forth there: the fortunes of liberalism are lost. The only form of political life which has helped Jewish assimilation is sunk.

The victory of Nazism ruled out assimilation and inter-religious marriage as an option for Jews. "We are not unhappy about this," said Dr. Prinz. In the fact that Jews were being forced to identify themselves as Jews, he saw "the fulfillment of our desires." Further, he states,

> We want assimilation to be replaced by a new law: the declaration of belonging to the Jewish nation and the Jewish race. A state built upon the principle of the purity of nation and race can only be honored and respected by a Jew who declares his belonging to his own kind. Having so declared himself, he will never be capable of faulty loyalty towards a state. The state cannot want other Jews but such as declare themselves as belonging to their nation...

Dr. Shahak compares Prinz's early sympathy for Nazis with that of many who have embraced the Zionist vision, not fully understanding the possible implications: "Of course, Dr. Prinz, like many other early sympathizers and allies of Nazism, did not realize where that movement was leading ..."

Zionist-Nazi Alliance Proposal

Still, as late as January 1941, the Zionist group LEHI, one of whose leaders, Yitzhak Shamir, was later to become a prime minister of Israel, approached the Nazis, using the name of its parent organization, the Irgun (NMO). The naval attaché in the German embassy in Turkey transmitted the LEHI proposal to his superiors in Germany. It read in part:

> It is often stated in the speeches and utterances of the leading statesmen of National Socialist Germany that a New Order in Europe requires as a prerequisite the radical solution of the Jewish question through evacuation. The evacuation of the Jewish masses from Europe is a precondition for solving the Jewish question. This can only be made possible and complete through the settlement of these masses in the home of the Jewish people, Palestine, and through the establishment of a Jewish state in its historic boundaries.

The LEHI proposal continues: "The NMO ... is well acquainted with the good will of the German Reich Government and its authorities towards Zionist activity inside Germany and towards Zionist emigration plans." It goes on to state:

> The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis and bound by a treaty with the German Reich would be in the interests of strengthening the future German position of power in the Near East ... The NMO in Palestine offers to take an active part in the war on Germany's side ... The cooperation of the Israeli freedom movement would also be in line with one of the recent speeches of the German Reich Chancellor, in which Herr Hitler stressed that any combination and any alliance would be entered into in order to isolate England and defeat it.

The Nazis rejected this proposal for an alliance because, it is reported, they considered Lehi's military power "negligible." [For more on this, see: M. Weber, "Zionism and the Third Reich" in the July-August 1993 *Journal*, pp. 29-37.]

Rabbi David J. Goldberg, in his book *To the Promised Land: A History of Zionist Thought*, discusses the life and thought of the leader of Zionist

SS officer Adolf Eichmann: "I am a Zionist too."

revisionism, Vladimir Jabotinsky, who was the great influence upon the life of Menachem Begin. "The basic tenets of Jabotinsky's political philosophy," writes Goldberg,

> are subservience to the overriding concept of the homeland: loyalty to a charismatic leader, and the subordination of the class conflict to national goals. It irked Jabotinsky when, over 20 years later, he was accused of imitating Mussolini and Hitler. His irritation was justified: he had anticipated them ... Given that for Jabotinsky echoing Garibaldi "there is no value in the world higher than the nation and the fatherland," it is not altogether surprising that he should have recommended an alliance with an anti-Semitic Ukrainian nationalist. In 1911, in an essay entitled "Schevenko's Jubilee," he had praised the xenophobic Ukrainian poet for his nationalist spirit, despite "explosions of wild fury against the Poles, the Jews and other neighbors," and for proving that the Ukrainian soul has a "talent for independent cultural creativity, reaching into the highest and most sublime sphere."

In a review of the book *In Memory's Kitchen: A Legacy From The Women of Terezin*, Lore Dickstein, writing in *The New York Times Book Review*, notes that, "Anny Stern was one of the lucky ones. In 1939, after months of hassle with the Nazi bureaucracy, the occupying German army at her heels, she fled Czechoslovakia with her young son and emigrated to Palestine. At the time of Anny's departure, Nazi policy encouraged emigration. 'Are you a Zionist?' Adolf Eichmann, Hitler's specialist on Jewish affairs, asked her. '*Ja wohl*,' she replied. 'Good,' he said, 'I am a Zionist too. I want every Jew to leave for Palestine'."

A 'Close Relationship'

The point has been made by many commentators that Zionism has a close relationship with Nazism. Both ideologies think of Jews in an ethnic and nationalistic manner. In fact, Nazi theoretician Alfred Rosenberg frequently quoted from Zionist writers to prove his thesis that Jews could not be Germans.

In his study, *The Meaning of Jewish History*, Rabbi Jacob Agus provides this assessment:

> In its extreme formulation, political Zionists agreed with resurgent anti-Semitism in the following propositions: 1. That the emancipation of the Jews in Europe was a mistake. 2. That the Jews can function in the lands of Europe only as a disruptive influence. 3. That all Jews of the world were one "folk" in spite of their diverse political allegiances. 4. That all Jews, unlike other peoples of Europe, were unique and unintegratible. 5. That anti-Semitism was the natural expression of the folk-feeling of European nations, hence, ineradicable.

Nazi theoretician Rosenberg, who was executed as a result of his conviction for war crimes at the Nuremberg trials, declared under direct examination that he had studied the writings of Jewish historians [IMT, vol. 11, pp. 451-452]. He continued:

> It seemed to me that after an epoch of generous emancipation in the course of national movements of the 19th century, an important part of the Jewish nation found its way back to its own tradition and nature, and more and more consciously segregated itself from other nations. It was a problem which was discussed at many international congresses, and [Martin] Buber, in particular, one of the spiritual leaders of European Jewry, declared that the Jews should return to the soil of Asia, for only there could the roots of Jewish blood and Jewish national character be found.

Long-Standing Alliance

Feyenwald, the Nazi, in 1941 reprinted the following statement by Simon Dubnow, a Zionist histo-

rian and author:

> Assimilation is common treason against the banner and ideals of the Jewish people ... One can never "become" a member of a national group, such as a family, tribe or a nation. One may attain rights and privileges of citizenship with a foreign nation, but one cannot appropriate for himself its nationality too. To be sure the emancipated Jew in France calls himself a Frenchman of the Jewish faith. Would that, however, mean that he became part of the French nation, confessing to the Jewish faith? Not at all ... A Jew ... even if he happened to be born in France and still lives there, in spite of these, he remains a member of the Jewish nation.

Zionists have repeatedly stressed — and continue to do so — that, from their viewpoint, Jews are in "exile" outside of the "Jewish state." Jacob Klatzkin, a leading Zionist writer, declared: "We are simply aliens, we are foreign people in your midst, and we emphasize, we wish to stay that way." This Zionist perspective has been a minority view among Jews from the time of its formulation until today.

Alfred Rosenberg

When the term "anti-Semitism" is casually used to silence those who are critical of the government of Israel and its policies, it should be noted that Zionism's history of alliance with real anti-Semitism has been long-standing, and this has been so precisely because Zionism and anti-Semitism share a view of Jews which the vast majority of Jews in the United States and elsewhere in the world have always rejected.

This rarely discussed chapter of history deserves study, for it illuminates many truths relevant to the continuing debate, both with regard to Middle East policy and the real nature of Jews and Judaism.

"Whoever would overthrow the liberty of a nation must begin by subduing the freeness of speech; a thing terrible to public traitors."

— Benjamin Franklin

Could *You* Survive a Nuclear Attack?

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By **Akira Kohchi** (Albert Kawachi)

Until now, the *real* story of the first nuclear holocaust had not been told. Previous books on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima approached it only obliquely: technical works hailed it as a marvel of nuclear science, and books written from the military perspective honored the men who gave and carried out a difficult order. Even the eyewitness accounts, numbering some two thousand—and almost all yet to be translated from the Japanese—are overwhelmingly stories of *personal* misery. The total picture—the background, scope, and consequences of the catastrophe—has, until now, never been presented.

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Holocaust survivor and author Albert Kawachi

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Jewish Power

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Capitol Hill is 'In Our Hands'

One isn't supposed to say this, but many people believe that Israel now holds the White House, the Senate, and much of the American media in its hands. This is what is known as an anti-Semitic conspiracy theory.

The odd thing is that it is held by many Israelis. In an essay reprinted in the May 27 [1996] issue of the *New York Times* Ari Shavit, an Israeli columnist, reflected sorrowfully on the wanton Israeli killing of more than a hundred Lebanese civilians in April. "We killed them out of a certain naive hubris. Believing with absolute certitude that now, with the White House, the Senate, and much of the American media in our hands, the lives of others do not count as much as our own ..."

In a single phrase — "in our hands" — Mr. Shavit has lit up the American political landscape like a flash of lightning.

Notice that Mr. Shavit assumes as an obvious fact what we Americans can say publicly only at our own risk. It's surprising, and refreshing, to find such candor in an American newspaper (though his essay was reprinted from the Israeli paper *Haaretz*).

The prescribed cant on the subject holds that Israel is a "reliable ally" of the United States, despite Israel's long record of double-dealing against this country, ranging from the killing of American sailors to constant espionage and technology theft. The word "ally" implies that the relationship exists because it's in the interests of this country, though Israel's lobby is clearly devoted to the interests of Israel itself, and it's childish to suggest otherwise.

You expect that from the Israeli lobby; lobbies are lobbies, after all. But it's unnerving that the White House, the Senate, and much of the American media should be "in our hands," as Mr. Shavit puts it. Bill Clinton, a lover of peace since his college days, raised no protest when the Israelis drove 400,000 innocent Lebanese out of their homes this year in "retaliation" for rockets launched into Israel (wounding one Israeli) by a faction over whom those 400,000 had no control.

Congress of course, was supine as usual at this latest extravagance of Israeli "defense." Congress too is "in our hands."

A recent article in the *Washington Post* likened the Israel lobby's power to that of the gun and tobacco lobbies. But there is one enormous difference. Newspapers like the *Post* aren't afraid to criticize the gun and tobacco lobbies. They will say forthrightly that those lobbies seek goals that are dangerous for this country. They don't dare say as much of the Israel lobby.

Joseph Sobran

But much of the press and electronic media are "in our hands" in a more active sense: they supply misleading pro-Israel propaganda in the guise of news and commentary, constantly praising Israeli democracy and ignoring Israel's mistreatment of its non-Jewish minorities — mistreatment which, if any government inflicted it on a Jewish minority, would earn it the fierce opprobrium of our media.

No decent American would think of reducing American Jews to the status of Palestinians in Israel. The idea is almost absurd. Yet Americans are taxed to subsidize the oppression of Palestinians, on the flimsy pretext that they are helping an "ally" in America's own self-interest, as if it were in our interest to be hated and despised by the whole Muslim world.

All this is interesting less for what it tells us about Israel than for what it tells us about America. Frank discussion of Israel is permitted in Israel, as Mr. Shavit's article illustrates. It's rarely permitted here. Charges of anti-Semitism and a quiet but very effective boycott will be the reward of any journalist

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who calls attention to his own government's — and his own profession's — servitude to Israeli interests.

Very few in America are doing anything to change that sorry state of affairs. Mr. Shavit wrote his article in the desperate hope of turning back his countrymen and his government from a morally and politically perilous course. At least he can hope. It's harder for us, when our own government isn't in our hands.

Judaism and Jewishness

Israel has been torn by a dispute over the definition of a Jew — a grave problem for a government dedicated to Jewry. The Orthodox rabbinate, which prevails in Israel, refuses to accept converts to Reform and Conservative Judaism as authentic Jews. For the Orthodox, claiming to be a Jew isn't enough; that way chaos lies. Only those converted according to strict Orthodox procedures, including circumcision, are eligible for Israeli citizenship. Many non-Orthodox Jews find this outrageous.

Meanwhile, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada has issued a statement rejecting Reform and Conservative Judaism as not Judaism at all, but as "an alien religion." This has only added to the fury of other Jews.

Orthodox Judaism, with its hundreds of severe and minute rules, is a little like a rhinoceros: you may not think it's a pretty house pet, but it's built to last. It grossly offends all modern notions of universalism, equality, civil rights, sexual freedom, and simple human conviviality. It has offended the morals and manners of earlier civilizations, which have generally accused the Jews of misanthropy and worse. But the old rhino has never much cared what outsiders think of it. And it has kept Jewry in continuous existence for more than three millennia, while whole civilizations have come and gone.

Without Orthodox Judaism, there would be no Jews today. Even to call it "Orthodox" is misleading. For most of history, it was the *only* form of Judaism. Reform and Conservative Judaism date from the nineteenth century, and both reflect the desire of many Jews to define themselves on terms more compatible with the modern world. To the Orthodox, these adaptations mean not only fatal compromise but disobedience to divine law.

At the least, the staying power of these Westernized forms of Judaism seems highly questionable. Jewry has survived thanks precisely to the exclusive nature of Judaism — its refusal of intermarriage, close association, and easy fellowship with gentiles. It regards assimilation, so tempting to other Jews, with utter horror. And it can point to the high rates of defection and intermarriage among modern Jews as justification for its stern self-segregation.

Considered backward in every age, Torah Judaism has survived every age, every successive form of modernity. That in itself is an awesome fact that commands, if not veneration, at least respect.

C. S. Lewis observed that liberal Christianity was always a way out of orthodox Christianity, never a way in. The cannibal doesn't convert to Unitarianism and progress to High Church Anglicanism; he converts to some dogmatic, evangelical version of the faith, or he doesn't convert. The whole idea of Unitarianism is to strip Christianity down to an acceptably undemanding form that may provide comfort for those who are weary of the rigors of a sterner faith, but it doesn't inspire the heathen to sign up for active duty. There are Christians today only because there were once martyrs willing to die for the very things the liberal Christian rejects.

In the same way, it seems highly doubtful that if the Jews of the ancient or medieval world had been Reform Jews, there would be any Jews today. I don't mean to pound the Reform Jews; but it appears to me that they are only one version of the modern Jewish identity crisis.

"In proportion to their numbers, Jews are the most successful and powerful group in the United States today."

Despite ferocious persecution, the children of Abraham have prospered amazingly in the modern world. We are in the middle of a sort of Jewish Renaissance, a burst of intelligence and genius rarely equaled. In my own scholarly pursuits, for example, I've never studied a field in which some of the best work wasn't done by Jews. And this is only one facet of their talent. In proportion to their numbers, Jews are the most successful and powerful group in the United States today. They have both raw power, political and economic, and enormous intellectual influence, shaping America's self-understanding but doing much to de-Christianize American public life; the Jewish revival has its darker and troubled side. Jews have also made their contributions to crime, political subversion, and cultural perversity. The Jews have given the modern world some of its most brilliant minds, but also some of its most notable intellectual charlatans: for every Einstein there has been a Marx or a Freud.

The remarkable fact is that the Jewish Renaissance has occurred, for better and worse, largely among the non-Orthodox. It may actually be inseparable from the Jewish identity crisis of modernity. The Jews who have left Judaism have not, by and large, left Jewry, even when they have married gen-

tiles. And they are preoccupied with finding new ways of defining what it means to be "Jewish," while tacitly renouncing Orthodox Judaism itself. Jews in the media, for example, rarely call attention to their Orthodox brethren.

The Jewish quest for identity has generated many ideologies. At first these tended to be universalist political creeds: liberalism, socialism, Communism. But these abstract creeds have more recently been displaced by the interlocked particularist causes of Zionism and anti-anti-Semitism. Supporting Israel and opposing anti-Semitism have now become ways of being a "good Jew" without observing the Mosaic law. Keeping kosher has been superseded by supporting Israel. Even many of the Orthodox have become fanatically attached to Israel, though Zionism is a modern political ideology, conceived on the model of European nationalism. Israel began its existence as a secular socialist democracy, a homeland for the Jews and a refuge from anti-Semitism, though opposed as sacrilegious by the most strictly Orthodox (some of whom remain adamant).

There's a crucial difference between Torah Judaism and ideological "Jewishness." The one is based on piety, which is absent from secular Jewishness; the other is defined by the notion of "anti-Semitism," which is absent from the five books of Moses, the whole Old Testament, and pre-modern Jewish culture. By today's standards, the severe judgments of the Lord and the Prophets on the Jews are virulently anti-Semitic; but of course the whole purpose of those judgments was the spiritual health and salvation of Jewry.

The Jews had the peculiar habit of recording and treasuring the divine rebukes, a practice at the opposite pole from the usual chauvinism of the human race and from the chauvinism of Zionist "Jewishness." Chauvinism always glorifies, justifies, and excuses one's own nation, while blaming others for its troubles. The all-purpose word "anti-Semitism" is used to explain all frictions between Jews and gentiles; in the moral universe of secular Jewishness there is no such fault, or word, as "anti-gentilism," because the ideology itself is so thoroughly anti-gentile in its premises.

This is why so many Jewish apologists for Israel — even clever men like William Safire, Martin Peretz, and Charles Krauthammer — can never admit that the Palestinians or even American critics of Israel have a point. They never seem to feel it may appear morally odd that the Israelis should always be in the right, and are never embarrassed to take the Zionist party line in every dispute.

According to the ideology, the survival of the Jewish people is inseparable from Israel and its "right to exist." Yet it wasn't Zionism that preserved the Jews for thousands of years; it was Judaism. And Israel itself hasn't preserved the Jews for the last half-century; on the contrary, Israel's existence has been secured by Diaspora Jewry, especially the Jewish "lobby" in the United States. The Zionist pioneers envisioned a homeland where Jews could be "normal," free from the marginal, precarious, and "parasitic" existence they were forced to live in other nations. But Jews now live "normal" lives in the Western countries where they have no special status, while Israel is heavily dependent on outside help. Israelis regard it as a moral failing for other Jews to continue living in Diaspora instead of migrating to Israel. Yet the Israelis themselves rely on those Jews for their sustenance.

Underlying the whole situation is the fact, which many of the most sophisticated modern Jews are reluctant to acknowledge, that all the Jews owe their existence to the long pre-Zionist centuries of Judaism, with its strict, reactionary, tribal, ethnocentric, patriarchal, etc., code. That code is in affront to nearly every principle liberal Jews espouse. Yet it has proven itself uniquely durable, while liberal Jews keep melting into the general population, having no firm reason to refuse assimilation. Ambiguously liberal Jews like Alan Dershowitz (whose son recently married a Catholic) are now worrying about the threat posed to the future of Jewry by social acceptance, which seduces Jews into assimilating and thereby surrendering their Jewish identity. In essence, such worriers are saying that the chief threat to Jewish survival today is not anti-Semitism, but the *absence* of anti-Semitism.

Nothing could better illustrate the moral corrosiveness, not of Judaism, but of liberalism. Judaism never felt vexed by the absence of anti-Semitism. The source of its strength was internal, not the hostility of its neighbors. A secular Jew like Dershowitz can't give a compelling reason why Jews *should* survive as a distinct group. The question doesn't present itself when danger looms; you fight for survival first and philosophize later. Secular Jewishness is so empty because it has defined itself in terms of enemies who have ceased to exist. That's why it has to keep redefining "anti-Semitism" to include even people who insist that they are *not* anti-Semitic (Pat Buchanan, Pat Robertson, the Christian Right).

When no avowed and visible enemy exists, covert and invisible enmity has to be posited. In a strange counterpoint to Torah Judaism, which claims to define who is a Jew, secular Jewish groups like the Anti-Defamation League now claim the privilege of deciding who is an anti-Semite. A gentile's denial that he's an anti-Semite counts for little with this secular rabbinate, which may rule that

he's an anti-Semite anyway. It is sufficient grounds for condemnation if he opposes the claims of Zionism or speaks critically of the American Jewish lobby.

This is why I sometimes quip that an "anti-Semite" is no longer a man who hates Jews, but a man who is hated *by* Jews.

Torah Judaism has no need of such malevolent quibbling, because it doesn't need anti-Semitism to create Jewish "identity." But Torah Judaism is profoundly embarrassing to secular Jewishness, which does its best to marginalize the Orthodox Jew along with the anti-Semite. Not the least curious fact in this whole situation is that the secular Jewish ideology not only exaggerates the significance of the anti-Semite, but *minimizes* the significance of the Orthodox Jew. Which one does it really regard as the greater threat to its version of "Jewishness"?

Jewish What?

Addison Wesley has just published a fascinating book by J. J. Goldberg of the Israeli magazine *Jerusalem Report*, titled *Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment* [reviewed in the March-April 1998 *Journal*]. It deals frankly, informatively, and on the whole fairly with a touchy subject; so touchy that a blurb on the cover from the Canadian Jewish novelist Mordecai Richler calls the book "brave," a word nobody would use of a book about Irish or black Americans.

In fact the book isn't particularly brave, and it comes nowhere near the bottom of the subject. I don't mean to disparage it, because it remains well worth reading. The problem is that Goldberg sees no problem. He says that yes, Jews have power, but they use it for largely legitimate and benign purposes. One of his examples — abortion rights — is enough to illustrate the problem he doesn't see.

Goldberg describes the inner workings of the Jewish establishment — meaning the major secular Jewish organizations, often collectively called "the Jewish lobby" — in considerable detail. And he makes it clear that the establishment is a far more humdrum affair than it may seem in the imaginations of suspicious outsiders. The Jews' two chief weapons, to call them that, are simply intelligence and energy. They are always, as we used to say, on the go. They are not, in most respects, monolithic, and they often work at cross-purposes. Their power only seems preternatural until you see how it actually operates (not for nothing was Houdini a Jew), and it's healthy to have it demystified and shown to be part of the everyday world. So far, so good. At times the reader even suspects that the Jews have a lot more fun than they like to admit. And yet there *is* a problem, one that transcends the mundane activities of the Anti-Defamation League and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

The problem used to be called, by all sides, "the Jewish problem." It recognized that there are serious difficulties in integrating Jews into a larger society. The proposed "solutions" have included assimilation, conversion, the ghetto, Zionism, pluralism, expulsion, and outright extermination. At the moment Jews themselves are still torn over the best course, complicated by their own vexing minority problem in Israel. Meanwhile, gentiles, and Christians in particular, have ceased arguing about the problem, because they now feel uneasy about calling it a problem.

Goldberg notes that as anti-Semitism has virtually disappeared, Jews have become incredibly sensitive to supposed anti-Semitism, which they are inclined to find lurking everywhere, usually without warrant. Yet though he is perceptive about this "perception gap," he fails, again, to see what it means. The "Jewish problem" remains alive for Jews, but it has new names, and others are forbidden to acknowledge it as in any sense their problem too.

For Goldberg the prevalence of Jews in the major media doesn't translate into Jewish power in the media. He notes that most Jews in the media don't participate in Jewish communal life and are often critical of Israel, often outraging ordinary pro-Israel Jews and the Jewish establishment. But this ignores another fact about media Jews: they are often hostile to Christianity, even if they have ceased to be partial to Judaism and Israel. And Christians certainly feel this hostility emanating from the media, even if it isn't exactly a matter of organized power in the way the Israel lobby is.

For many Jews, Christianity is synonymous with anti-Semitism and general benightedness. In this respect, the apostate Jew remains very Jewish. Goldberg retains something of this attitude himself, though he acknowledges that Jews, unlike members of other pre-Christian faiths, enjoyed a certain amount of tolerance in Christian Europe (far more than Christian heretics did).

Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* once observed: "As soon as the Jew gained control of the 'movies' we had a movie problem, the consequences of which are visible. It is the peculiar genius of that race to create problems of a moral character in whatever business they achieve a majority." Goldberg calls this "delusional," but allowing for its rudeness and one-sidedness, it makes a point. Whether you want to call Jews "disruptive" (the hostile version) or "in the forefront of social change" (the flattering version), it comes down to this: *cultures don't mix.*

That, after all, is what makes them cultures. A

culture is a closed system of symbols and values. Cultures not only can't mix, they have difficulty adjusting to each other, even when they do a lot of mutual borrowing. When there are so many tensions within cultures (as witness both Jewry and Christendom), it is hardly to be expected that they will live together in easy harmony, despite the rosy rhetoric of "pluralism" and "multiculturalism," which assumes that all differences are merely superficial, like the colorful variety of ethnic costumes in a parade. Cultural minorities, unless they are willing to assimilate totally (thereby surrendering their own identity), are apt to be more or less subversive of the majority's culture, whether or not they intend to be.

There is no need to impute this fact of life to minority villainy. On the other hand, the majority is entitled to keep its guard up. Each side, from its own point of view, is merely acting in self-defense, and sees the other side as oppressor or aggressor. "The Jewish problem," from the Jews' point of view, is "the Christian problem."

In public rhetoric, Jews today have the upper hand. Not long ago it was otherwise; they were troublemakers at worst, marginal at best. Christians regarded them as obviously undesirable and thought nothing of excluding them from neighborhoods, social clubs, and other institutions. Now they have become central in American public life, endowed with certified victimhood; they have managed to make themselves the test of others' tolerance, without the responsibility of meeting any moral tests but their own. That's why the charge of being anti-Semitic is so much more damaging than the charge of being anti-Christian. The slightest bias against Jews is apt to become at least a public embarrassment, while Israel may practice official racial and religious discrimination not only without facing much criticism, but with vocal moral support from American politicians and pundits like Al Gore and George Will. The Jewish side is nearly always the safe side, the side of the secular angels; also, to be crude about it, the side of money.

This is a dimension of Jewish power Goldberg seems unaware of. He is laudably disinclined to make loose charges of anti-Semitism; in fact he thinks the charge is usually grossly exaggerated. But he doesn't seem to understand how much such charges both express *and increase* Jewish power, making it difficult for Christians (and gentiles in general) to reply to Jewish attacks, whether those attacks are reasonable criticism or outright libel.

I learned this on the battlefield, so to speak, when I began to criticize Israel from the premises of the cold-war patriotism of the conservative magazine I used to work for. I was soon taken aside and cautioned that we didn't necessarily apply our principles to Israel in any literal-minded sort of way.

Pat Buchanan later got the same treatment on a much larger scale. He called attention to Israel's "Amen Corner in this country," and it quickly transpired (if we hadn't known already) that the Amen Corner didn't like to have its existence advertised. It proceeded to blast Buchanan in such a way as to destroy any pretense that he was wrong. We were supposed to pretend that the Israel lobby, which is pretty much identical with the Jewish lobby, wasn't acting against American interests; but how could a foreign lobby possibly be acting in American interests at all times? Why would it exist at all, except to ensure the subordination of American interests to Israeli interests? If the two countries' interests were identical, why would anyone seek to influence either's government in behalf of the other's? Such obvious questions were ignored by Buchanan's detractors, who included as many servile Christians as Jews.

The telling side of such encounters is the behavior of Christians. The fear of the Jews is a reflection of Jewish power, but it also magnifies that power. I often think of a line in the movie "Miller's Crossing," in a scene where the Irish mob boss is warned by his best friend: "You don't hold elective office in this town, Leo. You only run it because people think you run it. When they stop thinkin' it, you stop runnin' it."

The Jews don't really "run" America; but they *haunt* it in a peculiar way that makes it seem as if they run it, and gives them a leverage out of all proportion to their numbers, and even to their raw power. They have a certain moral authority, which isn't altogether specious, but is certainly lopsided, since they are exempted from the kind of public criticism they are free to dish out.

This is true partly because, I think, they mistakenly experience criticism as a prelude to persecution. And they may not be altogether mistaken. Deep down they may realize, more than Christians do, that cultures don't mix as easily as sentimental Americans like to pretend. They may well fear that if the fictions of pluralism were to collapse, gentiles might once again start talking aloud about "the Jewish problem," and might even ask why American Christians should be more tolerant of minorities than the Israelis are.

If it's "brave" to discuss Jewish power, it's surely because the Jews don't welcome such discussion. Most powerful people glory in their power and find it advantageous, as well as pleasurable, to display it. The Jews seem to feel that their kind of power will tend to evaporate if attention is called to it; and that if it evaporates, they may lose more than power.

This is understandable. Nobody should want the

Jews or anyone else to be vulnerable to persecution. Still, cultural differences and rival interests can't be papered over forever. It's useless to prattle about pluralism in front of the abortion clinic, where cultural differences show up as a total impasse. The Jews speak frankly among themselves of their own interests, and of the threats to those interests posed by Christians. Christians should be free to do the same without being called bigoted — or "brave."

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No Absolute Historical Truth

"It is always difficult for the non-historian to remember that there is nothing absolute about historical truth. What we consider as such is only an estimation, based upon what the best available evidence tells us. It must constantly be tested against new information and new interpretations that appear, however implausible they may be, or it will lose its vitality and degenerate into dogma or shibboleth. Such people as David Irving, then, have an indispensable part in the historical enterprise, and we dare not disregard their views."

— Gordon A. Craig, noted American specialist of modern German history, and professor emeritus at Stanford University. Writing in *The New York Review of Books*, Sept. 19, 1996, p. 8.

A Warning from the Roman Republic

"The state budget must be balanced. If the state is not to go bankrupt, public debts must be cut back, the arrogance of the officials must be curbed and brought under control, and payments to foreign governments must be reduced."

— Marcus Tullius Cicero, 55 B.C.

Even Japan has learned what happens to those who commit sacrilege against the secular religion of the Holocaust. "Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine," a 30-page IHR Special Report, includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the *Marco Polo* furor, a feature article from the March-April 1995 *Journal,* and more.

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World War II — The

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• Detailed, definitive historical sleuthwork exposing FDR's hidden treachery in preparing for war on behalf of Stalin's USSR and the British Empire — while falsely representing Germany and Japan as "aggressors" against America

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• Inspired insight into how future wars have sprung and will continue to spring from the internationalist impetus that led us from World War II, through the "Cold War" (and the hot wars we fought in Korea and Vietnam with our WWII Communist "allies") to the "New World Order" — until Americans, armed with the truth, force their leaders to return to our traditional non-interventionist foreign policy

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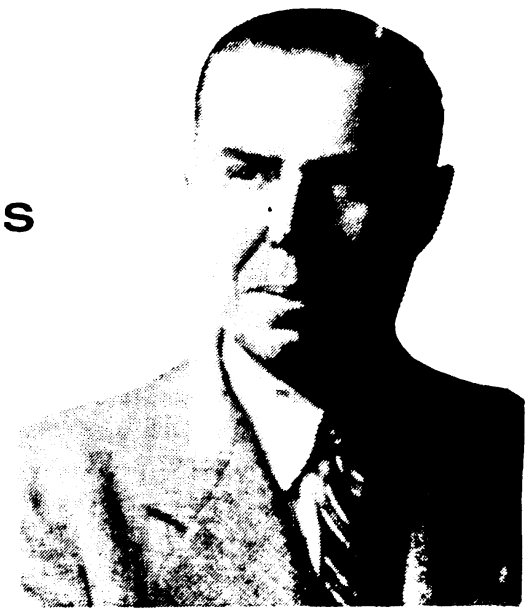
Revisionism and the Historical Blackout by Harry Elmer Barnes • *The United States and the Road to War in Europe* by Charles Callan Tansill • *Roosevelt Is Frustrated in Europe* by Frederic R. Sanborn • *How American Policy toward Japan Contributed to War in the Pacific* by William L. Neumann • *Japanese-America Relations: 1921-1941: The Pacific Back Door to War* by Charles Callan Tansill • *The Actual Road to Pearl Harbor* by George Morgenstern • *The Pearl Harbor Investigations* by Percy L. Greaves, Jr. • *The Bankruptcy of a Policy* by William Henry Chamberlin • *American Foreign Policy in the Light of National Interest at the Mid-Century* by George A. Lundberg • *How "1984" Trends Threaten American Peace, Freedom and Prosperity* and *Summary and Conclusions* by Harry Elmer Barnes

War that Never Ends

Continuing persecution of aged "war criminals"
Grandiose new "Holocaust" museums
Ever more billions in "aid" and "reparations" to the State of Israel
Non-stop scapegoating of Germans and Europeans
Ceaseless wars and interventions justified as "rejecting appeasement," "stopping aggression," "standing up to a new Hitler"

HARRY ELMER BARNES



Classic... and Burningly Controversial

Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace, first published ı 1953, represents Revisionist academic scholarship at :s full and (to date) tragically final flowering in Ameri-a's greatest universities — just before America's interna-ionalist Establishment imposed a bigoted and chillingly ffective blackout on Revisionism in academia.

Its republication by the Institute in 1983 was an event, nd not merely because IHR's version included Harry ilmer Barnes' uncannily prophetic essay on "1984" rends in American policy and public life (considered too ontroversial for conservatives and anti-Communists in ıe early 50's). It was hailed by the international Revi-ionist community, led by Dr. James J. Martin, the Dean f living Historical Revisionists, who wrote:

It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.

Discommode and annoy the enemies of historical truth nd freedom of research it did — virtually the entire :ock of ***Perpetual War*** was destroyed in the terrorist rson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse on ıe Orwellian date of July 4, 1984.

Today, the Institute for Historical Review is proud to be ble once more to make this enduring, phoenix-like assic available to you, and to our fellow Americans. It ın silence the lies about World War II, and thus the ombs and bullets our interventionist rulers plan — for ır own American troops no less than the enemy — in ıe Middle East, Europe, Africa, Asia, or wherever else ıe interventionist imperative imposed by World War II ıay lead us.

Harry Elmer Barnes (1889–1968), American historian and sociologist, was one of this century's most influential scholars. He was a major figure in developing the school of history writing known as "revisionist." During the 1920s he played a leading role in overturning the propaganda myth of sole or primary German responsibility for the First World War.

Even after the drastic change in intellectual fashions during the 1940s, Barnes remained true to his principles. During the final decades of his life, he came under ever more stern rebuke for his revisionist debunking of official claims about the Second World War and the Cold War.

Barnes authored many books and countless articles and reviews, and he taught economics, sociology and history at various institutions of higher learning.

He wrote with remarkable assurance and competence in a range of scholarly fields. Of Barnes *The New Columbia Encyclopedia* (1975) noted: "His wide interests generally centered about the main themes of the development of Western thought and culture. His ability to synthesize information from various fields into an intelligible pattern showing human development profoundly affected the teaching of history."

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Killing Noncombatants

SHELDON RICHMAN

On May 11, 1940, Great Britain made a fateful decision in its approach to fighting the Second World War. On that night, 18 Whitley bombers attacked railway installations in the placid west German province of Westphalia, far from the war front. That forgotten bombing raid, which in itself was inconsequential, has been called "the first deliberate breach of the fundamental rule of civilized warfare that hostilities must only be waged against the enemy combatant forces." (F. J. P. Veale, *Advance to Barbarism* [1993 edition, p. 170])

J. M. Spaight, who had been principal secretary of Britain's Air Ministry, wrote later, in his book *Bombing Vindicated* (1944), that "it was we who started the strategic [that is, civilian] bombing offensive" with the "splendid decision" of May 11, 1940. "It was," wrote Spaight with horrifying honesty, "as heroic, as self-sacrificing, as Russia's decision to adopt her policy of 'scorched earth'." Note that the German attack on Coventry, which is often cited as the first strategic bombing in the war between Germany and Britain, occurred six months later (on November 14, 1940). Note further that part of the British bombing strategy was apparently to provoke German attacks on England in order to stimulate support for total war against the Third Reich. As the official Air Ministry volume, *The Royal Air Force, 1939-1945: The Fight at Odds* (1953), stated:

> If the Royal Air Force raided the Ruhr, destroying oil plants with its most accurately placed bombs *and urban property with those that went astray*, the outcry for retaliation against Britain might prove too strong for the German generals to resist. Indeed, Hitler himself would probably head the clamor. *The attack on the Ruhr, in other words, was an informal invitation to the Luftwaffe to bomb London.*

The first instance of "area" bombing, guided by a newly expanded definition of military target, occurred at Mannheim in December 1940, in which bombs were dropped on factories and the homes of factory workers. On February 14, 1942, the policy of targeting other than military sites became more explicit. With World War II now in full gear, Prime Minister Winston Churchill's British government directed the Bomber Command of the Royal Air Force to begin the destruction of German civilian morale. In other words, it was open season on cities. The decision was curious, for, as the neoconservative Paul Johnson wrote in *Modern Times* (1983):

Sheldon Richman

> By the end of 1941, with both Russia and America in the war, the defeat of Hitler, as Churchill himself realized, was inevitable in the long run. The utilitarian rationale for attacks on cities had disappeared; the moral case had always been inadmissible.

The bombing policy was formalized in the Lindemann Plan in March 1942, when the Bomber Command was placed under the direction of Sir Arthur "Bomber" Harris, who inaugurated civilian bombing in the Middle East and India in the 1920s. Later that month, the city of Lübeck, an old Hanseatic port with no military significance, was targeted. In the words of the official report, it "burned like kindling." Half the city was destroyed.

By the summer of 1943, the United States was part of the air-terror campaign. In July of that year, British bombers attacked Hamburg, creating monstrous firestorms with temperatures of 800-1000 degrees centigrade over the city. The results: 40,000 people killed, 214,350 homes destroyed, 4,301 factories leveled, eight square miles burned.

On the night of February 13-14, 1945, what Johnson called "the greatest Anglo-American moral disaster of the war against Germany occurred." Dresden, a city of indescribable beauty and no military value whatsoever, was destroyed. In two bombing waves (the second after relief efforts were

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Sheldon Richman is senior editor at the Cato Institute in Washington, DC, and the author of *Separating School & State*, published by The Future of Freedom Foundation (FFF). This essay is reprinted from the September 1995 issue of *Freedom Daily*, published monthly by the FFF, 11350 Random Hills Rd., Ste. 800, Fairfax, VA 22030.

The devastation of Dresden, one of Europe's great cultural and architectural treasures, in the wake of the February 1945 firebombing is apparent in this view from City Hall tower. Some 2,000 British and American bombers took part in the attack on the undefended German city, which was packed with hundreds of thousands of women and children fleeing advancing Soviet forces.

underway), firestorms over eight square miles were ignited with 650,000 incendiaries. Some 135,000 people, including children in holiday carnival costumes, were killed; 4,200 acres were turned to rubble. "For the first time in the war a target had been hit so hard that not enough able-bodied survivors were left to bury the dead," wrote Johnson. "The funeral pyres were still flaming a fortnight after the raid." Why was it attacked? As Johnson put it, "The origin of the raid was the desire of Roosevelt and Churchill at the Yalta Conference to prove to Stalin that the Allies were doing their best to assist the Russian effort on the Eastern front." German civilians were barbecued for the Bolsheviks' westward offensive.

The unspeakable evil of the Dresden bombing made even Churchill pause. He wrote to the chief of the Air Staff, Sir Charles Portal, six weeks later:

> It seems to me that the moment has come when the question of bombing of German cities *simply for the sake of increasing the terror, though under other pretexts*, should be reviewed. The destruction of Dresden remains a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing ... I feel the need for more precise concentration upon military objectives, such as oil and communication behind the immediate battle-zone, rather than on mere acts of terror and wanton destruction, however impressive.

(The official British history of the air offensive commented that Churchill "had forgotten [his] own recent efforts to initiate and maintain the offensive.")

It was only the beginning. In the Pacific theater, the Americans applied the British strategy of targeting civilians. Sixty-six Japanese civilian centers were hit from March to July 1945, even as the US authorities were receiving indications of a Japanese desire to surrender. The raids, involving 100,000 tons of incendiaries, destroyed 170,000 densely populated square miles. As night fell on March 9, 300 B-29s laid waste to 15 square miles of Tokyo. Eighty-three thousand were killed and 102,000 were injured in the firestorms. Up to roughly that point, the bombings in Japan had leveled two and a quarter million buildings; nine million people were homeless; 260,000 were dead; 412,000 were injured.

The climax came on August 6. After dropping more than 700,000 warning leaflets, the United States dropped a uranium bomb on Hiroshima. On

Many of the civilians who perished in the devastating American and British bombing attacks on Germany were not blasted or burned to death, but succumbed to poisonous carbon monoxide fumes caused by phosphorous bombs and the great fires set off in the firestorms. This young boy died clinging to a firefighter during the massive July 1943 British air raid against Hamburg, code-named "Operation Gomorrah."

that day and the days following, 200,000 died, burned, vaporized, suffocated. The deaths of some were evidenced only by the shadows they left on walls. Three days later, a second atomic bomb, this one powered by plutonium, was dropped on Nagasaki, 74,800 dead. Two more cities were put on the A-bomb target list, but Japan's surrender on August 14 averted the strikes. [See: M. Weber, "Was Hiroshima Necessary"," May-June 1997 *Journal*.]

Thus the most destructive military conflict in human history ended. A new threshold had been crossed. The old rules of avoiding noncombatant casualties were erased. The bombing rules drafted after World War I were forgotten. The era of total war had arrived. Anyone was fair game. The murder of innocents became "collateral damage."

A sophisticated moral treatise should not be required to indict civilian bombing. Noncombatants had been ruled off-limits, because it was universally regarded as wrong to kill for the sake of sheer terror. War, though unspeakably horrific, was not to be an excuse for the dropping of all moral restraint. This made impeccable sense. The disputes between governments should not be permitted to spill onto the people forced to live under those governments. People rarely go to war. They are too busy making a living and raising their families; wars are costly. When they do go to war, they have first been whipped into a frenzy by dishonest political leaders, whose petty ambitions are often advanced by a seemingly great national purpose. The leaders rarely do the paying or the dying. They are too busy with the big picture. The details are left to the people. (See Paul Fussell's great book *Wartime* [1989].)

When Allied misconduct in World War II (or any war) is pointed out, many Americans become defensive, as though acknowledging government's moral lapses is bad manners, if not outright treason. That attitude is unbecoming to the political heirs of Jefferson and Madison, who understood the dangers intrinsic to the state and who grasped that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Those who wish not to dwell on Allied atrocities often respond that the enemy was engaged in such horrors as the rape of Nanking, the Bataan death march, the bombing of Rotterdam and Warsaw, the Holocaust. So that is what it comes down to: Dresden? Tokyo? Hiroshima? Nagasaki? They were no worse than the crimes of the Japanese imperialists and the Nazis. At that point, a plea of innocence is hard to distinguish from a plea of *guilty*.

Moving?

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Only with the sustained help of friends can the Institute for Historical Review carry on its vital mission of promoting truth in history. If you agree that the work of our Institute is important, *please support it with your generous donation!*

"I have never, for the life of me, been able to understand the conservative. The conservative seems to me to be always clinging to the last thing which the last radical has forcibly tied him to."

— G.K. Chesterton, 1927

Letters

Keeping an Open Mind

As a school teacher, it is my job to keep an open mind and know all sides of history. Thanks to your great website, I can do that. Your articles are well written and informative. It's a nice change of pace from the biased garbage we see on the mainstream news shows.

Keep up the good work.

E.G.
[by Internet]

John Birch Society and IHR

Enclosed please find a $100 check to help the IHR. Originally I intended to send this money to the John Birch Society. While I think the Society has done a lot of good work, they pulled exactly the kind of thing on you that is always being pulled on them, and as a faithful JBS member of 35 years, I didn't like it. ["John Birch Society Takes Aim at Holocaust Revisionism and the IHR," Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*]. So, those who are the least afraid to tell the whole truth get my money. Keep up the good fight. (I intend to let the JBS know how I feel.)

S.T.S.
Norton, Mass.

Straight-Forward Style

At school I was taught that six million Jews were gassed to death. In one class we studied a fictional book about a Jewish teacher in Poland and his ordeal that our teacher presented as factual.

When I became old enough to think for myself, I rejected the portrayal of Germans as fantastically evil. I did so instinctively, even though at the time I didn't have the facts to cite in support of this. Thanks to you, now I do.

The material you present on your web site appears to be honest and well documented, with source references cited. Although I have not (yet) checked the references, I am inclined to believe them because your style is straight-forward, "just the facts" and non-emotional.

I posted your URL [Internet web site address] along with a few facts about outrageous Holocaust claims to some e-mail lists I belong to. The replies were amazing: unintelligent, biased, abusive, even ridiculous, with no concern at all for facts, or even curiosity about the other side of the argument.

Thank you again.

C.R.
Australia
[by Internet]

Looking for Truth

My complements on your web site. While most revisionist sources speak favorably about your Institute, I have found some hostile sites that claim, essentially, that you say that the Jews had to be killed. Of course, this is not only untrue, but not even consistent with the tradition of historical revisionism. Above all, a revisionist is someone who is looking for the truth.

F.C.
Italy
[by Internet]

Good Luck

To the entire IHR staff: Merry Christmas and good luck in 1999. Thank you for your indefatigable work. Keep up the good work!

Wilhelm Stäglich
Glücksburg, Germany

Hard to Swallow

Viktor Suvorov's thesis that Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union was a defensive move or a preventive strike is a bit hard to swallow ["Stalin's Plan to Conquer Europe," July-August 1998 *Journal*]. Anyway, you should know about a recent book, *Thunder on the Dnepr: Zhukov-Stalin and the Defeat of Hitler's Blitzkrieg*, by Bryan I. Fugate and Lev Dvoretsky (Presidio Press, 1997). Citing newly available Soviet military records, the authors contend that Zhukov and Stalin fooled Hitler by causing him to think that German forces had largely destroyed the Red Army during the opening weeks of the war. Actually, they contend, Stalin had huge reserves with heavy modern equipment to throw against the Germans after they had pushed far inland.

Journal articles, I find, are often biased in favor of capitalism. All the same, it is it worthwhile reading more than one side of every subject. Cheers for historical revisionism!

J.E.
Hot Springs, Mont.

Appreciation

I can't even adequately express how grateful I am that you do what you do. Your group is truly to be admired. All I can say is: I'm glad you're out there. I only hope that my contribution [$100] helps a little.

S.Y.
La Plata, Maryland

Suvorov Not Alone

In his letter in the Nov.-Dec. 1998 *Journal*, P.H. writes that Viktor Suvorov is wrong in claiming that Stalin was preparing to attack Germany in 1941. Well, he should know that Suvorov is not the only historian to make this argument. Austrian historian Ernst Topitsch, for example, makes essentially the same point in his book *Stalin's War* (St. Martin's Press, 1987). He cites a mass of statistics to show that the troops amassed by Stalin on the western Soviet border greatly out-

numbered and outgunned the facing German troops, who were themselves massed in preparation for attack against the Red Army.

R.H.
[by Internet]

Today's European Unity Foreshadowed in World War II

Few realize that the steady economic and political unification of Europe — manifest, for example, in the recent introduction of the supra-national European currency, the "Euro" — was strongly foreshadowed in the Second World War planning of Germany's leaders.

During the war years, high-level German officials promoted a "European Economic Community," forerunner of the European Community. As part of this effort, in 1942, for example, the Reich Economics Ministry, in cooperation with Berlin business and economic associations, issued a book, *Europäische Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft* ("European Economic Community").

That same year, a leading National Socialist Party periodical, the *Schulungsbrief*, reported favorably on the rise of a new all-European economic order. An article featured a statement by Walter Funk, Economics Minister and Reichsbank president: "The economic unity of Europe is already much more in place than most people can imagine."

An article by army teaching director Dr. Karl Christoffel in a 1944 instruction booklet for the German armed forces pointedly declared: "During the emergency of this struggle for its existence, Europe has begun to recognize that its security and continued existence are possible only in the unification of its nations in a European economic community. The grim attempt by the British and the Americans to starve out the continent, including its one-time allies, has obliged us to work together as if this was already a unified economic zone. Economic barriers between countries, which once seemed insurmountable, have been dropped, thereby releasing productive forces on a previously unimaginable scale ... Out of inner necessity, Europe struggles for continental economic freedom with governmental pressure against the international economic hegemony of Anglo-American money imperialism and against the economic enslavement of [Soviet] Bolshevism ... Since the outbreak of the war against Bolshevism, the great German struggle for freedom has become a war for European unity..."

Newspapers and magazines in wartime Germany, and in other European countries, reflected and promoted this new vision of Europe. Among the various pan-European periodicals published in wartime Germany was the French-language *Devenir*, which was boldly subtitled "Combat Journal for the European Community."

Along with the introduction of the Euro on January 1, 1999, the exchange rates of eleven European currencies were irrevocably "locked in" with each other, and with the Euro. For the time being, the currencies of these eleven countries continue to exist and circulate, but monetary policy for these "Euroland" currencies is no longer set by the central bank of each participating country, but rather by the new Frankfurt-based European Central Bank.

During the Second World War, several European currencies were similarly "coordinated." While the Polish zloty, the Czech crown, and the Dutch guilder continued to exist and circulate, they were no longer independent national currencies. Monetary policy for these currencies, including the amount of notes in circulation and their exchange rates with the German Reichsmark, and thus with each other, was no longer set in Warsaw, Prague or Amsterdam, but rather in Berlin. Some other European currencies were likewise linked to the Reichsmark, although not quite as rigidly, through various bilateral arrangements. During the Second World War, the Reichsbank in Berlin became, in effect, a European central bank.

Today, more than half a century later, important features of Third Reich Germany's visionary wartime program for European economic and monetary unification are being put into effect.

E. Svedlund
Seattle

Changing Minds

Keep up the good work. People are listening to you, and they are changing their minds.

S.T.
[by Internet]

Non-Stop Reading

The July-August 1998 issue was so good that I feel compelled to write. Thank you for your magnificent *Journal* of truth. I can't put an issue down without reading it through non-stop. I have been with you since the very beginning, and admire all of you. You are all great and brave men. I truly thank you gallant warriors for being *there on the* front lines, getting the truth to the public.

H.W.
Wildwood, Penn.

Someone Must Do It

Thank you again for the *Journal*, and for all the work, effort and toil required in putting it out. It's work that someone must do, and you are doing it.

L.P.
Jackson, Calif.

Appreciation from Nippon

Greetings from Japan. Even here in Sapporo, your diligent effort is much appreciated.

W.K.
Sapporo, Japan

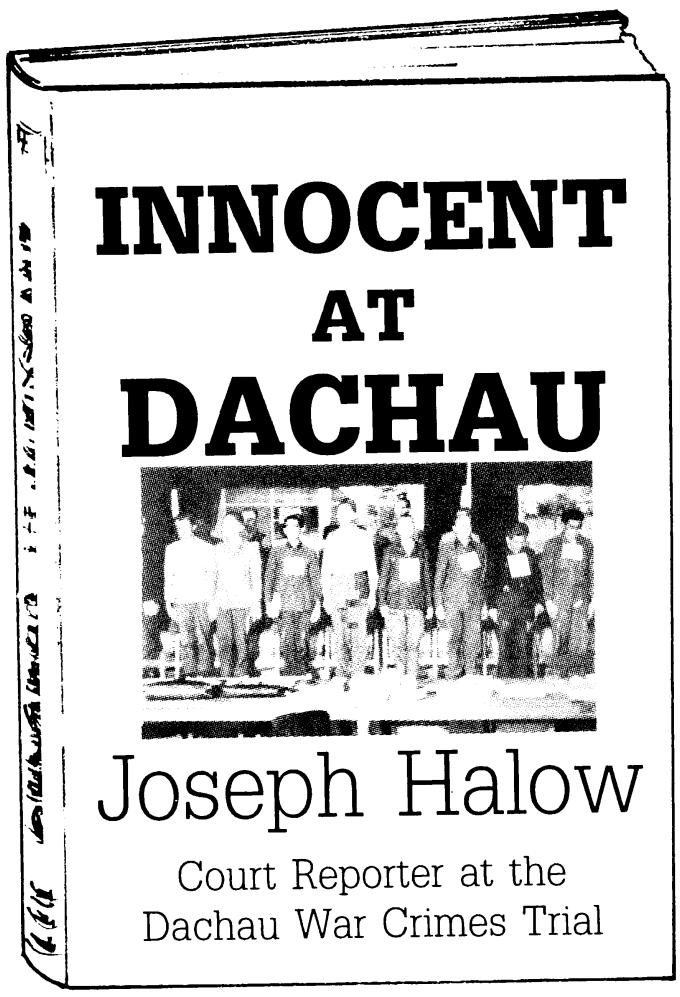
We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at **editor@ihr.org**

The Heart-warming, Infuriating, Informative, and Revisionist memoir that Dares to Tell the Truth About the Postwar Trials of the Germans

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

AMERICAN TEENAGER JOE HALOW was still a boy when he sailed to war-ravaged Germany in late 1946. The year he spent there, taking part in some of the most sensational of the war-crimes trials of the defeated Nazis, turned him into a man.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's account of his year in postwar Germany, above all his work as a court reporter during the U.S. Army courts-martial at Dachau. There Halow witnessed, recorded and transcribed some of the most gripping testimony from some of the most sensational trials of the postwar years: of SS guards from Buchenwald, Mauthausen, and Dora/Nordhausen; of the inmates who carried out their orders as kapos (prisoner trusties); and of German villagers who attacked and murdered downed American fliers in the last phase of the Allies' terrifying air war.



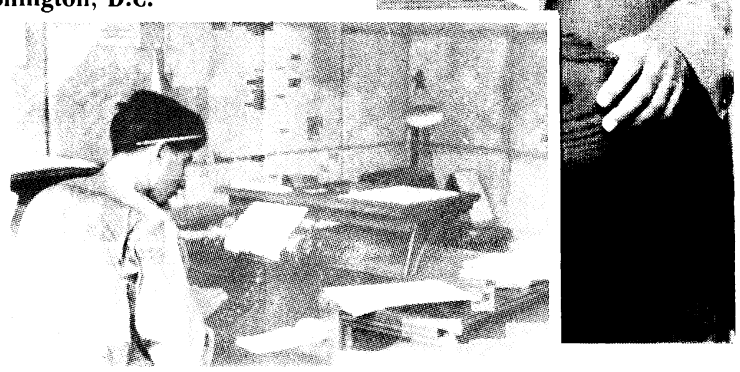
Armed with an ironclad faith in American righteousness when he arrived, young Halow soon saw the flaws and abuses in the trials: reliance on *ex post facto* law and broad conspiracy theories; abuse of prisoners during interrogation; and the shocking tolerance, even encouragement, of perjured testimony by concentration camp survivors. The teenaged American court reporter came to sympathize with the plight of the accused, particularly those convicted, sentenced or executed unjustly.

Innocent at Dachau is Joe Halow's story of his coming of age, of his loss of innocence in the Dachau courts. And it's the human drama of how he came to terms with his own anti-German feelings living and working in a Germany still heaped with rubble and ruled by the black market, in the shadow of the looming Iron Curtain and approaching Cold War.

Innocent at Dachau is also the story of how, four decades later, Joe Halow went back — back to the long-classified records of the Army's trials at Dachau where he found astounding confirmation from official sources of his own misgivings about the trials; and back to Germany for a moving visit with one of the German SS men Halow watched testify about his role at Nordhausen concentration camp.

Outspoken, informative, moving, ***Innocent at Dachau*** is a unique testimony to one American's quest for truth, understanding and honor, in a realm ruled even today by shibboleth and taboo — a book that deserves to be read, and read again.

Joseph Halow was born and raised in Altoona, Pennsylvania. After a brief stint in the U.S. Army following World War II, during which he served in Peking, China, Mr. Halow served as a court reporter at the U.S. Army war crimes trials at Dachau. Mr. Halow has had a long career in the export-import business, during which he headed an association that promoted the exportation of American grain. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of The George Washington University, Joseph Halow is the author of numerous articles on agricultural affairs, as well as a book, *U.S. Grain: The Political Commodity*. He lives near Washington, D.C.



TOP: The author at publisher's 1990 historical conference. **INSET**: Germany, 1946: The author transcribing his courtroom "take" for the record.

INNOCENT AT DACHAU

by Joseph Halow

Clothbound, 337 pages, Photos, Index

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In this concise, eye-opening book, British Parliament member Arthur Ponsonby deftly exposes the most scurrilous propaganda tales of the 1914-1918 war.

To maintain popular enthusiasm and support for the four-year slaughter of the First World War, British, French, and (later) American propagandists tirelessly depicted their German adversaries as vicious criminal "Huns," and portrayed the German emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, as a rapacious, lunatic monster in human form.

Ponsonby reveals how all the belligerents, but foremost his own country, faked documents, falsified photos, and invented horrifying atrocity stories.

In a foreword written for this handsome IHR edition, historian Mark Weber points out fascinating parallels with World War II atrocity tales. The "corpse factory" fable, for example, was revived during the Second World War with the Allied claim that the Germans manufactured soap from Jewish corpses.

This pioneering revisionist work remains one of the most trenchant and valuable examinations of wartime deceit and propaganda ever written. A devastating indictment of the way politicians and journalists deceive to incite people to war!

Falsehood in Wartime: Propaganda Lies of the First World War

This enduring classic authoritatively discredits numerous accusations hurled against the enemy during the war to "make the world safe for democracy," including such notorious tales as:

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- The "corpse factory" where the Germans manufactured lubricating oil and fats from the bodies of dead soldiers.
- The Belgian girl whose hands were chopped off by the bestial Germans.
- German responsibility for starting the war.
- The barbaric U-boat sinking of the innocent passenger liner *Lusitania*.
- The "martyrdom" of Nurse Cavell.

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